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THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN DON FELIPE GONZALEZ

TO

EASTER ISLAND,

1770—1:

PRECEDED BY

AN EXTRACT FROM THE OFFICIAL LOG

OF

MYNHEER JACOB ROGGEVEEN

IN 1722.

SECOND SERIES.
No. XIII.

ISSUED FOR 1903.

Photo. reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

Colossal figure of basaltic stone from EASTER ISLAND, known as

HOA-HAKA-NANA-IA.

Presented to the BRITISH MUSEUM in 1869, by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN DON FELIPE GONZALEZ

IN THE SHIP (OF THE LINE) SAN LORENZO,
WITH THE FRIGATE SANTA ROSALIA (IN COMPANY,

TO

EASTER ISLAND

IN 1770—1:

PRECEDED BY AN EXTRACT FROM
MYNHEER JACOB ROGGEVEEN'S OFFICIAL LOG
OF HIS DISCOVERY OF AND VISIT TO
EASTER ISLAND,
IN 1722.

TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED, AND EDITED
BY
BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY,
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

By ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G.C.B.

IT is now more than twenty years since I had the good fortune to make Dr Corney's acquaintance at Suva, the then recently established capital of our colony of Fiji. In 1896, when I was again serving on the Australian Station, Dr Corney accompanied me in my flag-ship on a voyage from Suva to Sydney. It was then that I, and indeed, all the officers and men of the ship, fully understood the keenness of the interest taken by him in the history of Pacific navigation and the enthusiastic manner in which he devoted himself to the study of it. Not many of those who heard it will have forgotten the lecture on the subject that we succeeded in inducing him to deliver to an audience of the officers and ship's company. The reason why he has paid me the compliment of asking me to contribute to this volume an introductory note, probably is that he knows that many years of my life were spent in navigating the Pacific Ocean and that I have landed upon more than a hundred South Sea Islands. My first acquaintance with them dates back to 1855 when, as a midshipman, I visited Honolulu—or as sailors then always called it—Wawhoo, referring to the island on which it is situated.

The least observant voyager in the Pacific must have been struck by the frequency with which Spanish and Dutch names appear on the chart of that ocean. Dr Corney is doing good service to the cause of geographical history and justice to the bold and enterprising navigators of an earlier time in once more reminding us of the work of exploration, amidst difficulties not easy to comprehend in these days, performed by the fine seamen of Spain and the Netherlands.

The trite saying, that history repeats itself, is once more exemplified in the volume now edited by Dr Corney. The commercial exclusiveness, which actuated Spain's policy in her American colonies, is well known and has been frequently dwelt upon. What was far less known is now clearly brought to light by the contents of the documents collected and translated by Dr Corney. This is the apprehension on the part of the Spanish colonial officials that some foreign state—notably England—was endeavouring to acquire in the South Seas what would now be called a naval station. Passages in the despatches of the Viceroy of Peru, Don Manual de Amat, show that this apprehension was one of the principal causes of the voyage to Easter Island of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez. The passages in question might, indeed, be substituted, with but little change, for the newspaper statements, with which we are so familiar in these days, as to the efforts of some one or other European continental state to get a "coaling station" in remote seas. It would be instructive to be told whether in the eighteenth century the British Admiralty was beset by as many amateur strategists recommending, regardless of war conditions or foreign complications, the seizure of some distant port for a station, as it was in the last years of the nineteenth. The amateur naval strategist is not usually a reticent person; and it is not impossible that such as existed in England in the eighteenth century had loquacity

enough to permit a knowledge of their proposals to reach the Spanish government. Whether or not this led to the expedition of Don Felipe Gonzalez, that undertaking distinctly advanced geographical knowledge. It does not now seem much more antiquated than Wilkes'. Many of the facts recorded about the natives of Easter Island are still to be observed amongst their kinsmen in other islands. Their presence on the island named is one amongst the many proofs of the widely extended and mysterious migrations of the Polynesian race that meet the navigator in the South Seas.

Easter Island is one of the islands that I did not have the good fortune of visiting ; though I once passed not very far from it in a long voyage of eighty-one days from San Francisco to Valparaiso in 1856.

CYPRIAN A. G. BRIDGE.

December, 1906.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE feature to which this volume of the Hakluyt Society's publications is chiefly intended to give prominence is the collection of Journals and Despatches it presents relating to a voyage conducted, in 1770, under instructions[1] issued by the Viceroy of Peru in obedience to a Royal Command[2], for the purpose of annexing a portion of land in the Eastern Pacific Ocean believed to lie about six hundred leagues west from the coast of Chile, in the latitude of Copiapo. The expedition which the Viceroy fitted out to accomplish this adventure comprised two vessels of the Royal Navy of Spain, the SAN LORENZO, ship of the line, of sixty-four guns[3], under the command of Don Felipe Gonzalez, and the SANTA ROSALIA, frigate, of twenty-six guns, in charge of Don Antonio Domonte. The former officer was an elderly naval captain who had brought the same ship out from Cadiz to Callao earlier in the year; he was now appointed to take charge of the expedition, and became in fact its Commodore.

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[1] These instructions were issued on Oct. 5, a copy of them was sent home to the Secretary of State for the Indies in the Viceroy's despatch n° 363, but has not been found.

[2] The Royal Command was issued on Oct. 26, 1769, but this also has not been met with.

[3] By some accounts she could mount seventy.

The land they were instructed to search for, and explore, and annex to the dominions of the Spanish monarch, was that which had been reported by Edward Davis in 1687, and was still somewhat mystically designated the "Island of David." What they did find proved to be the same as *Paásch* or Easter Island—a name which had been bestowed upon it by Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen, who, in 1722, was the first European to definitely discover and set foot upon its shores. Pending a determination of its identity the Spaniards favoured its earlier designation, *Tierra de David*, or Davis's Land, of which more anon: and they carried with them instructions to rename it after their Sovereign, which they loyally obeyed, though its appellation of *San Carlos* has not survived.

That the circumstances attending this undertaking might now be made the more clear it has been judged useful to include in this volume a translation of Roggeveen's official log—in so far as it relates to his discovery and examination of Easter Island and its weird native possessors. All the narratives and correspondence herein brought to light are presented in the form of original translations now for the first time made available to the English general reader. For though the incidents ascribed to the Dutchman's visit gained early notoriety through the writings of his companions, and have continued to be widely known, such is by no means true of their commander's official version; while the accounts of the Spaniards' transactions have remained still more remote, and indeed obscured, from public view.

Two, if not three, accounts of Roggeveen's expedition were published soon after his return to Europe, from the pens of persons who sailed with him; and these constituted for more than a century all the information regarding the enterprise which was made known,—if we except some rather inaccessible particulars of the occurrences on his

arrival at Java, as related in Du Bois' *Lives of the Governors-General of the Netherlands Indies*[1]. Some details regarding these accounts are given in a subsequent page of the present volume, and a new and independent translation of a portion of the more reliable one, in so far as it deals with the visit to Easter Island, is presented as an Appendix. It was not until 1836, however, that the official log of the commander himself came to light; it was printed a couple of years afterwards at Middelburg, in the original Dutch, under the title *Dagverhaal der Ontdekkings-Reis van Mr Jacob Roggeveen*[2]; being edited from the autograph manuscript by a committee appointed by the Zeeland Association of Science, and published with the approval of the Minister for the Colonies. It is practically a sealed book to the generality of English readers; and down to the close of 1903 it did not find a place in the readers' catalogue at the British Museum.

The student who consults works of reference pretending to more than common merit will find the discovery of Easter Island attributed in some of them to the pilot Juan Fernandez; in others, to one Edward Davis, a buccaneering commander who, in 1687[3], took his departure from one of the Galapagos Islands, in the good ship *Batchelor's Delight*, bound firstly to the island of Juan Fernandez mas a Tierra, and thence round the Horn to the West Indies.

It is further customary—it might be said almost universal—in the same class of books, to omit all mention of the expedition under Don Felipe Gonzalez, who was the first explorer to refind Easter Island after the more widely known visit of Jacob Roggeveen to it eight and forty years before him.

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[1] Du Bois, J. P. J.; *vide* Bibliography no. 8.

[2] Roggeveen, J., Bibl. no. 48.

[3] Not 1686, as generally stated; *vide* Wafer, L., Bibl. no. 53.

The claims of Juan Fernandez to the discovery of land which he is said to have described as "a very fertile and agreeable continent" depend upon hearsay evidence, and have generally been considered vague, and even untruthful[1]. He is credited with concealing, for his own profit and that of his shipmates, the position of the land he or they reported; but this much appears from the statement preserved by Dr Arias, that the reputed discovery was made in the course of a voyage from Lima to Chile, in which the pilot stood off the land some forty degrees for a wind. There is nothing inconsistent in his having fallen in with Easter Island (and given an exaggerated description of its size and productions), since H.M.S. *Sulphur* under the command of Capt. Sir Edward Belcher in 1838, on quitting the Galapagos Islands bound for Callao, was carried to the vicinity of Easter Island by baffling airs and currents, and reached the longitude of 104° W. in latitude 22° S., in which situation she was actually nearer to Valparaiso than to her destination[2]. The same may be said of Edward Davis's track and landfalls; but that the land seen by the crew of the *Batchelor's Delight* was the same Roggeveen met with thirty-five years later, and named *Paásch Eyland, i.e.* Easter Island, is after all only conjecture. Their identity, though repeatedly asserted, cannot be consistently maintained unless one is prepared to admit that, in so far as the range of high land described to the westward is concerned, the eyes of Davis and Wafer and the others of their crew were deceived by cloud-banks. The point has often been disputed, nay, denied, by competent critics: among whom are numbered such men as Cook, La Pérouse, Burney, Beechey, and Dalrymple; but, as a disquisition on hydrographic enigmas would overstep the

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[1] *Papeles Tocantes a la Iglesia Española.* [Bibl. no. 28.]

[2] Belcher, E., Bibl. no. 7.

limits of the editor's function in this volume, the reader who wishes to form a conclusion on this moot question is referred first to the original accounts hereinafter presented, next to the works of the authors just named, and finally to the modern Admiralty chart of the Pacific Ocean, Eastern part, Cape Horn to Cape Corrientes, Mexico (no. 3261). He should also not omit to read Claret de Fleurieu's *Examen Critique* appended to the narrative of the *Solide's* voyage by Étienne Marchand[1].

The true and original discoverers of Easter Island were of course the Polynesian founders of its race of native inhabitants; or possibly even an autochthonous people of remote antiquity, of whom we know nothing. The modern Easter Islanders' traditions relate that they landed on the northern side, in the bay or cove called Anakena; and anthropologists consider that their arrival must date back some seven centuries, at the lowest computation.

The purport of this volume is not to describe Easter Island or its inhabitants, but to make known to English readers the original accounts of its discovery by (1) Dutch and (2) Spanish explorers. For it has been many times "discovered," and half forgotten; and as often missed when sought for—a fact which is the less surprising when its exceptionally isolated situation and its small area are considered. There is, in fact, almost no foothold in the world (if we except the barely accessible antarctic lands) more remote from the ports of old world Powers than this arid and unfruitful spot.

In order that the correspondence and journals, of which translations follow, may be properly understood by the reader it is essential that he be acquainted with the *verbatim* accounts of Edward Davis's discovery, and they are therefore now quoted. They consist of two short statements

[1] Marchand, É., Bibl. no. 34.

which were published a few years after the event; the one by William Dampier, in his *New Voyage Round the World*, and the other by Lionel Wafer, in his *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America...with remarkable occurrences in the South Sea and elsewhere.* Davis himself does not seem to have left any written record behind him, if indeed he ever kept any; but Dampier's statement of Davis's oral report is in these words:

Captain *Davis* told me lately, That after his Departure from us at the Haven of *Rio Lexa* (as mentioned in the 8th chapter) he went after several Traverses, to the *Galapagoes*, and that standing thence Southward for Wind, to bring him about *Terra del Fuego* in the Lat. of 27 South, about 500 leagues from *Copayapo*, on the Coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by him; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long Tract of pretty high Land, tending away toward the North West out of sight. This might probably be the coast of *Terra Australis Incognita*[1].

Wafer's account is in rather more detail, and has the greater merit of being written by an eye-witness; for the author sailed with Davis in the capacity of surgeon's mate, after parting company with Captain Swan in the *Cygnet*, with whom went Dampier to the East Indies, in 1685. It runs thus:

Accordingly we went thence again for the Southward, intending to touch no where till we came to the Island of *Juan Fernandez* ...[here follows a striking description of the shock of earthquake they felt in lat. 12·30 S. about 150 leagues from the Peruvian coastline; being the same by which Callao suffered inundation and partial destruction in 1687]...We steered South and by East half Easterly, until we came to the Latitude of 27 Deg. 20 Min. S. when about two Hours before Day we fell in with a small, low sandy Island, and heard a great roaring noise, like that of the Sea beating upon its shore, right ahead of the Ship. Whereupon the Sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the Shore before Day, desired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to stand off till Day appeared,

[1] Dampier, Bibl. no. 18.

to which the Captain gave his consent. So we plied off till Day and then stood in again with the Land; which proved to be a small flat Island, without the guard of any Rocks. We stood in within a quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could see it plainly; for 'twas a clear Morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the Westward, about 12 Leagues by Judgment, we saw a range of high Land, which we took to be Islands, for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. This land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen Leagues in a Range, and there came thence great Flocks of Fowls. I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone ashore on it; but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Capayapo* almost due East [*sic*] five hundred Leagues; and from the Gallapago's, under the Line, six hundred Leagues[1].

The clue afforded by the printed accounts of Davis's land, which Lionel Wafer and Dampier thus made public, clearly forms the basis of one part of the Articles of Instruction issued to Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen—whose expedition made under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company now claims attention—in 1722[2]. Those Articles were "Secret and Confidential"; and when the bundle of papers which contained the official Journal was found, as presently to be described, in 1836, the Instructions were missing from the packet. But the evidence in the text of the Journal makes it quite plain (and the instructions supplied to the captains of his three ships confirm this) that one of the prime objects of Roggeveen's voyage was the

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[1] Wafer, Bibl. no. 53. By the light of subsequent discoveries, and an improved knowledge of ocean currents, it appears probable that the "small, low sandy island" seen by Wafer was in reality the atoll "discovered" in 1797 by Capt. Wilson of the ship *Duff*, in lat. 23° 20′ S. long. 134° 28′ W., and named by him Crescent Island. The "range of high land" seen to the westward would in such case be the peaks of the Gambier Group, corresponding very closely to the bearing and distance quoted in the description. Crescent Island is only 3½ miles long, and nowhere elevated more than 25 feet above the sea level.

[2] An edition of Wafer's book was published at the Hague in Dutch, in 1698—1700; and one of Dampier's in German at Leipzig in 1702.

discovery of the supposed *Terra Australis Incognita*, to which Davis's reputed landfall was believed to be the key, and that he was directed to search for it in the position assigned by Wafer and Dampier, five hundred leagues due West from Copiapo.

It was a few years only after the peace of Europe had been restored by the Treaty of Utrecht that the expedition despatched by the Dutch West India Company under the command of Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen sailed from the Texel on its voyage of discovery and circumnavigation. This commander was the first European to visit Easter Island, and to bring home a knowledge of its position and of its inhabitants. His remaining two ships (for one had been lost) were confiscated on his arrival at Batavia, where also he and his officers and crews were put under arrest and sent home to Holland, as he was considered to have infringed the monopoly belonging to the Dutch East India Company by navigating to a port within the Indonesian waters defined by its Charter. This injustice was subsequently righted by the law courts of the Hague; but one result of the process was that the official records of the expedition, which had already been confiscated at Batavia with the ships, were either impounded or secreted; and its events first gained general publicity through an anonymous scribe, whose account was printed in 1728 at Dordt under the title of *Tweejarige Reize romdom de Waereld*[1]. The writer, whose identity has never been revealed but who appears to have been one of the persons embarked in the expedition, brought notoriety—if not ridicule—upon himself, and some discredit upon the whole undertaking, by the fanciful and palpable fictions with which he interspersed his rather illiterate narrative. A second edition of his book was nevertheless published, also at Dordt, in 1758; and a

[1] *i.e.* Two-years Journey round the World.

third at Amsterdam in 1774. All these editions are in *quarto.*

Another and better account was written in German by Carl Friederich Behrens, who sailed in Roggeveen's ship the *Arend,* in command of the marines on board, with the rank of Serjeant-Major. It presents a much more sober and trustworthy account of the voyage, and bears evidence of its author having been a man of some education and social status, and an experienced traveller. His work first appeared at Frankfurt and Leipzig, in 1737, *duodecimo,* and bears the title Carl Friederich Behrens' *Reise durch die Süd-Länder und um die Welt*[1]. It was reprinted two years later at the author's own expense, by Joh. Georg Monath at Leipzig in the same form, but with the title slightly altered, being *Der wohlversüchte Süd-Länder, das ist: ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung um die Welt von* Carl Friederich Behrens[2]. Both editions contain a portrait of Behrens and a track chart of the voyage.

A paraphrase of this in French also appeared in the same year (1739), at the Hague, somewhat amplified and improved, which bibliographers are wont to ascribe to Behrens' own labour; but the evidence that he himself was the translator appears inconclusive. The account it presents is perhaps the best of these various relations; and its title is *Histoire de l'Expédition de Trois Vaisseaux,* &c., &c., *Par Monsieur* de B. *La Haye* MD.CC.XXXIX. *Aux Dépens de la Compagnie*[3]. It is in two small volumes, generally bound together, 12mo.

Both the above writer's narratives have been many times translated and reprinted, in more or less mutilated or abridged form; and are to be met with in various historical

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[1] Behrens, Bibl. no. 6.
[2] See Appendix I. to the present volume.
[3] Monsieur de B., Bibl. no. 38.

collections of voyages and travels—to wit, Harris and Campbell, the Abbé Prévost, De Brosses, Callander, Dalrymple, *The World Displayed*, *Nederlandsche Reisen*, Burney, and perhaps others.

There appears also to exist a rare and very brief account of the expedition which the present Editor has not seen, and which is catalogued—

"*Kort en Nauwkeurig Verhaal van de Reize door Drie Schepen in't, Jaar* 1721.....*om eenige tot nog onbekende Landen, omtrent de Zuid-Zee gelegen*...," small 4to, pp. 15, calf (rare)[1] *Amsterdam* 1727.

but this is nowhere referred to in the general accounts.

These together constituted, until some seventy years ago, the sum of the evidence upon which the history of Jacob Roggeveen's discovery of Easter Island rested: and it was not unnatural that a desire for some more authoritative record should take possession of the minds of Dutch geographers and students of literature. Thus it was that about the year 1820 Heer J. van Wijk, of Kampen (a small town situated on the banks of the Yssel three or four miles above its *débouchement* in the Zuyder Zee), embarked in a systematic search for any official journal of the expedition that might still exist. Invoking the assistance of the Batavian Society, Heer van Wijk, after several years' unremitting labour, at length succeeded in meeting with official documentary evidence to the effect that a journal under Roggeveen's own hand, as also two of his shipmasters', together with the original Articles of Instruction and many other papers, had been forwarded by the Government of the Netherlands Indies to the Presidential Council at Amsterdam; and a copy also to Middelburg, in Zeeland.

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[1] *i.e.* Short and Exact Account of the Voyage of Three Ships in the year 1721...towards hitherto unknown Lands, situated in the South Sea.

Encouraged by this piece of information Heer van Wijk addressed himself to H.E. the Minister for the Colonies, Baron van den Bosch, whose powerful influence he succeeded in securing. His Excellency soon afterwards informed Heer van Wijk, however, that although he had caused a thorough search to be made among the archives of the old East India Company it had not been crowned with the desired success. Nevertheless, in case the second copy might exist in the archives of the Company's Chamber at Middelburg, of which the custodian was Heer P. Pous, this gentleman was invited to undertake a similar quest, and, in the event of the journal being there met with, to send it to His Excellency. Although the first efforts of Heer Pous were unavailing, the Minister directed him to nevertheless persevere and spare no pains for the attainment of the desired object, if possible; but his endeavours still proved fruitless. Heer van Wijk now appealed to all such persons as might have any acquaintance with tracts concerning this voyage, or who might privately possess either originals or copies of such, to be so good as to communicate with him, and thus render a substantial service to science besides contributing perhaps to their country's renown, and to place him in a position to defend so meritorious, and by Claret de Fleurieu so greatly misapprehended, a son of the Fatherland; and to confirm his discoveries as belonging to Netherlandish enterprise. However hopeless a stage the matter may then have appeared to be at, the journal of Jacob Roggeveen's expedition was nevertheless found; for Heer Pous, after having fruitlessly searched through the more extensive collection of East Indian archives, now lighted upon it by sheer chance in those of the old West India Company. He communicated his success to the members of the Zeeland Association of Science, at their meeting held on the 7th of December 1836; stating that he had, a few days previously, while

looking for a document relating to Surinam, unexpectedly come across a bundle of papers docketed "Papers touching the confiscated West Indian ships *Arend* and *Thienhoven* dated the 30th of November, 1722."

In this manner all that had been so long looked for by Heer van Wijk and his associates was realised, and more by accident than by design; for the bundle proved to contain not merely the commander's autograph journal, but all the instructions, invoices, and other papers relating to the voyage, excepting the official instructions addressed to Roggeveen himself as commander in charge of the expedition. To cut a long story short, the Zeeland Association appointed a committee to undertake the editing of the journal as already mentioned at page xvii of this Introduction; the gentlemen to whom this task was entrusted decided that the original text should be given to the public without amendment, except in regard to mis-spelling or obvious errors of script by which, in a very few places, the sense was obscured. The result of these labours was the publication at Middelburg, in the year 1831, by the Zeeland Association of Science and with the approval of the Minister for the Colonies, of the *Dagverhaal der Ontdekkings-Reis van Mr Jacob Roggeveen* (Journal of the Voyage of Discovery by Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen). This volume was extremely well turned out, being edited with great care and good judgment, and remains an ornament to geographical literature, on whose account a high tribute of praise is due to the members of the Association by whom it was given to the world.

The above account of the finding of Roggeveen's journal is gathered, for the most part, from the *Voorberigt* (Introduction) by which it is prefaced in the printed volume, and from the *Konst- en Letterbode* 1836, no. 3.

The translation which is here given reproduces (without abridgement) the whole of the portion relating to Easter

Island, and comprises the history of the expedition during the first fortnight of the month of April, 1722. The longitude quoted is calculated East about from the Peak of Tenerife, as shown and stated on the chart which accompanies the printed *Dagverhaal.*

The voyage of Don Felipe Gonzalez was undertaken by direction of His Catholic Majesty Don Carlos III, with the object of forestalling the suspected designs of the English, or of any other foreign nation, towards establishing for themselves colonies or naval bases in the Eastern Pacific—a remote tract of ocean which had long been the aim of Spanish ambitions, but which was beginning at the period in question to become better known than of yore, through the explorations of Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, M. de Bougainville, and, a little later, Lieut. Cook.

Some further light is thrown upon the motives by which the Court of Spain was impelled in stretching out its arm towards Polynesia, by the accounts herein gathered, from official sources, of the breakdown of M. de Surville's misguided venture in quest of Davis's Isle. It was that *fiasco* that determined the destination of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia,* if it did not actually give rise to their despatch: but the incentives to some step of the kind had been incubating in the Spanish mind ever since the days of Mendaña and Quiros, and the process had been more recently stimulated by the losses inflicted by Commodore Anson, the capture of Manila[1] in 1762 by a British

[1] At the close of 1761, in consequence of the British Ambassador at Madrid having been refused any answer in reference to the engagement entered into between the French (with whom we were then at war) and Spanish Courts, a continuance of diplomatic relations between the Governments became impossible; and the offence thus given being considered by our Ministers as an unfriendly act on the part of Spain, a few days later the state of war was proclaimed.—*Vide* Calendar of Home Office Papers, *anno* 1761, no. 409: the Earl of Egremont to the Lords of the Admiralty. [Bibl. no. 27.]

squadron under Admiral Cornish and General Draper, and the misgivings to which Commodore Byron's achievements in H.M.S. *Dolphin* and *Tamar* gave rise.

But to gain a full appreciation of the influences by which, in the eighteenth century, the representatives of the Spanish rule in South America were actuated in regulating restrictions on trade and protecting their maritime commerce one must not merely consider the aggressions and competition to which their colonial settlements and shipping had continually been exposed, but one must give weight to the course of political events in Europe itself. The key to the enterprise which had already for two centuries been displayed by the more advanced and intelligent European nations, in pushing their emissaries westward into the Pacific Ocean, was the desire to find a short way to the riches of the Orient. But for a wish to reach Cathay by sailing westwards across the Atlantic Columbus would never have discovered the West Indies, Cabot might have confined his wanderings to known seas, Vespucci and Magalhaens would, in all probability, have remained quietly in home waters. The achievements of Bartolomeo Diaz and of Vasco da Gama were remarkable; but the length and difficulties of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope opposed a barrier to the profits expected, and an eager spirit of competition no doubt afforded further stimulus to enterprising navigators to search out a shorter and more convenient route to the East Indian Seas.

It was with this object that Magalhaens' voyage, during which he discovered and passed through the Straits which bear his name, was undertaken. He was followed by others, of whom more or less fragmentary and unreliable records exist; but the first systematic survey of the Straits after Magalhaens' time was made at the instance of one of the early Viceroys of Peru, in 1579, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. He sailed from Callao, and accomplished his

mission with success; but on arriving in Spain he imprudently recommended the establishment of a fortified post and industrial settlement within the Narrows, with the object of intercepting the advance of foreign ships by the Straits, which at that period afforded the only known western route into the Pacific—or South Sea, as it was then termed. Although the Duke of Alba advised against the adoption of so wild and infeasible a project, Sarmiento's proposals received the assent of King Felipe II, who appointed him Governor of the new colony *in posse*. He accordingly put to sea, early in 1581, with a fleet of no less than twenty-three vessels, carrying 3,500 men (it is said) and a number of women; besides 500 seasoned Walloon troops who were escorting a new Governor to Chile by this opportunity. The expedition met with a series of disasters; but three vessels, Sarmiento being on board one of them, eventually reached the Straits and disembarked a hundred families, in all about four hundred persons, and built a fort, which they provisioned for eight months, and called *San Felipe* after the King.

Sarmiento himself was soon afterwards captured by one of Sir Walter Raleigh's squadron, when visiting Rio de Janeiro for supplies; and in January, 1587, Sir Thomas Cavendish rescued the last survivor of the colony, and aptly designated it Port Famine, by which name its site is still known to navigators and marked on the charts.

About the same time the exploits of Sir Francis Drake in the South Sea, and some few years later the activity shown by the Dutch in despatching expeditions through Magalhaens Straits, awakened a considerable degree of anxiety in the mind of the Spanish monarch, towards whom our own nation and the people of the United Provinces bore no friendly feeling, even when they were not on terms of actual warfare. By the Declaration of Independence, in 1581, the latter had renounced allegiance to Spain, and

launched their new constitution under the gifted administration of William the Silent. The Hollanders, indeed, were about this time beginning to take a principal place among the seafaring peoples of the world. They were born with a genius for commerce; and, bred as they were amidst the estuaries and lagoons of their half-submerged Netherlands, they grew up to be expert seamen and developed into patient and plodding navigators. It was, therefore, no more than natural that, on hearing of the successes of Portuguese and Spanish enterprise in the New World and in the East Indies, the merchants and adventurers of the Low Countries should desire to compete with their European neighbours, especially since they had become their enemies at home.

Thus in 1598, within a week of each other, two expeditions of five and four ships respectively sailed from the Maas with the avowed purpose of despoiling Spanish commerce, whilst endeavouring at the same time to find the much sought Western route to the Spice Islands by following the track of Magalhaens, Jofre de Loaysa, Sebastian del Cano, Alonzo de Salazar, and their survivors. The first of these expeditions was commanded by Jacob Mahu; but he died shortly after the start, and the leadership devolved on one Simon de Cordes, who himself succumbed off Callao. He was succeeded by his brother Balthazar, and the ship under his command ravaged the West coast of South America for a time with varying success, passing thence across the Pacific and eventually reaching the Moluccas, where she was confiscated by the Portuguese and her commander sent, a prisoner, to Malacca. Another of the squadron got as far as Japan, and there laid the foundation of a lucrative monopoly in trade which the Dutch held for many years; but her people never returned to Europe. A third ship's company, under Sibald de Weert, after suffering deplorable hardships from tempest,

cold, and famine, returned from Tierra del Fuego to Holland; adding to the outlying N.W. group of the Falkland Islands one of the many names by which they have from time to time been distinguished—the "Sibaldines." A fourth vessel surrendered to the Spanish forces at Valparaiso; and the fifth disappeared.

The second expedition, designed for a similar object, was even more unfortunate in the event; although the only ship belonging to it which ever returned to Europe, the *Eendracht*, commanded by Olivier van Noort, was the first Dutch vessel to circumnavigate the world. She arrived back at Amsterdam in 1601.

A dozen years later another small squadron was fitted out by the Dutch East India Company of merchants, the command of which was entrusted to Joris van Spilbergen. Its intention was to operate against Spanish commerce on the coasts of Chile and Peru, and from thence to sail Westwards to the company's factories in the East Indies.

The voyage of Schouten and Le Maire, undertaken in 1615—17, was conceived in a more peaceful spirit, and was entirely a commercial and honourable venture on the part of its promoters, who were private citizens of Amsterdam. Schouten was the first navigator to find a way into the South Sea without having to face the perils and delays of Magalhaens' Strait; and it was his achievement in discovering a passage between Staten Land and Tierra del Fuego, and so rounding the island cape which he named *van Hoorn* (after his port of departure in the Zuyder Zee) which so impressed the Spanish authorities that Don Bartolomé Garcia de Nodal, accompanied by his brother Gonzalo, was immediately afterwards despatched by them to explore the open ocean south of Tierra del Fuego, in the very year of Schouten's return to Europe.

The Hollanders, while attaching great importance to their legitimate East Indian trade, were, however, no less

alive to the possibilities of plundering their competitors by adopting the Western, or Magalhaenic, route to the Orient; and in 1623, not very many months after the expiration of the truce with Spain, a squadron of eleven ships was fitted out by the Dutch Government, and called the Nassau Fleet. The command was entrusted to Jacob l'Hermite, a Fleming, and great things were expected of the commission; but it effected little or nothing of that which was intended in the way of hostilities against Spain's dominions and shipping in the South Sea, although five years later the memorable capture of the West Indian treasure fleet by Admiral Hein took place.

An interval, somewhat blank in the history of Dutch operations in the waters of the Spanish main, then occurred until five-and-twenty years after the discoveries of Le Maire and Schouten had been made generally known, when the Dutch West India Company despatched a vessel under the command of Hendrik Brouwer to cruise in the South Sea. Sailing from the Texel in 1642—the same year in which Tasman set out from Batavia and discovered Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand—Brouwer was the first to settle the small extent and unimportance of Staten Land, which, until then, had been generally believed to project indefinitely eastwards across the South Atlantic.

In 1669, at the bidding of our own king Charles the Second, Sir John Narborough was commissioned by the Duke of York, in the ship *Sweepstakes* with the *Batchelor*, flute, in company, to explore Patagonian waters, including Magalhaens Straits and the west coast archipelagoes, to study their natural features and products, and to conciliate and cultivate a trade with the Indians of Chile, who were believed to be enemies to the Spanish yoke. His instructions specifically forbade him to in any way injure or give umbrage to the Spanish settlers; but the very nature of his enterprise could not fail to do that much, and the

reception he met with at Valdivia, though peacefully disposed himself, showed plainly how much the colonists of that nation distrusted, and were ready to resent, the intrusion of any foreign ship in the waters of their territory.

At this period the reign of terror created by the Buccaneers or Filibusters had begun, and the exploits of these gentry kept the Spanish authorities ever on the watch for corsairs and raiding parties from one end of the coast to the other. In Europe advantage was taken of declarations of war by or against His Most Catholic Majesty to authorise the fitting out of privateers and the issue of letters of marque to armed vessels, whether of England or of France, whose commanders seldom knew nor cared when peace had been restored between the Governments; and who, while making the Spanish galleons and treasure ships their chief objective, were by no means loth to pillage (if they felt themselves strong enough) any unfortunate settlement or local craft they might chance to fall in with along the coast.

At the close of the century two French expeditions sailed from La Rochelle to explore the Straits and carry fire and sword into the enemy's preserves in the South Sea; and a few years later quite a number of vessels from Saint Malo passed that way on their voyage to China, owing to the East Indian route being rendered unsafe by English and Dutch cruisers during the war of the Spanish Succession.

The seventeenth century was consequently one of general unrest, and at times turmoil, in the Eastern Pacific; and the Government of Spain laboured under a weight of anxiety for the protection of its colonies, which were of paramount importance to the mother country as sources of

revenue: and of their commerce—which was a national monopoly of the strictest kind. The Viceregency had long been instituted at Lima; and the *Audiencia*, or advisory Council of judges appointed. Some discerning and high-minded dignitaries, both of Church and State, had been sent out from the Court of Madrid in the hope of mitigating the evils and oppression incidental to military rule. But the all pervading policy of trade monopoly and ultra-protection offered a permanent and alluring mark for contraband competition, and continued to excite the cupidity of those roving smugglers and other lawless adventurers who then abounded on both sides of the isthmus of Panama and infested both land and sea. This monopoly was of so exclusive a kind, and was clung to with such tenacity, that although the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the war of the Austrian Succession was terminated in 1713, left Spain much reduced in power and considerably injured in regard to her South American interests, it was only with difficulty that England obtained permission for a single British bottom (not exceeding 500 tons burthen) to make one voyage annually, as a matter of right, to the Spanish possessions in the South Sea. This concession was included in the terms of the *Asiento* granted by Spain to England in connection with the above-named pact.

The monopoly vested chiefly in the merchants of Seville, whose influence dominated the fairs periodically held at Puertobello[1], by which Peru as well as Mexico was supplied with European goods at prices entirely regulated by them. Even Buenos Ayres, their own national possession, was jealously cut out of competition with the Puertobello

[1] A town and harbour on the north side of the isthmus of Panama, now decayed and supplanted by Aspinwall. Spanish goods and manufactures used to be disembarked here and conveyed across to Panama for further distribution to Mexico and Peru, the Lima merchants being in touch with the exporters at Seville and sharing in the monopoly.

market; all commercial intercourse between the Rio de la Plata and other colonies of Spain in the same hemisphere being prohibited, under severe penalties, and strenuously and effectually opposed by the Chambers of Commerce[1] of Seville and of Lima.

Such a policy could not fail to give rise to much contraband traffic; and adventurers of our own nation by sea, as well as the Portuguese on the inland water-ways of their neighbouring settlements in Brazil and Paraguay, were neither slow nor too scrupulous to profit by it.

"The local authorities," wrote Sir Woodbine Parish, who, prior to 1831, had access to most of the surviving archives of Buenos Ayres and the La Plata Provinces, "appear to have had neither the will nor the power to put down a trade which supplied the most pressing wants of the colony, and the profits of which were shared by native capitalists. If they did occasionally make a show of exercising their right to visit ships, it was an empty threat little heeded by men who were looked upon with almost as much dread as the buccaneers who had so long been the terror of all that part of the world....The main object of Spain's solicitude was the acquisition of riches in the shape of the precious metals; and the policy of her Ministers in hampering ordinary trade by arbitrary and vexatious imposts and restrictions was persisted in until at least the middle of the eighteenth century[2]."

And so it came about that Spain, in 1739, attempting to check the wholesale smuggling inseparable from her policy, by means of her *guarda costas*, was brought into collision with the British Government over the affair of "Jenkins' ear." It was the war which then broke out that

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[1] *Consulados.*

[2] Parish, W., Bibl. no. 43. (Sir Woodbine Parish was for many years British Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres.)

led to the capture of Puertobello by Admiral Vernon, and gave rise to the famous expedition under Commodore George Anson, a commander whose name has an important bearing on the subject of this volume. For it was largely in consequence of the publication of the "Observations and Directions for facilitating the Passage of our future Cruisers round Cape *Horn*," to which the ninth chapter of Book I of the narrative[1] of Anson's voyage is devoted, that the attention of the Spanish Government was more pointedly than ever drawn to the vulnerability of its dominions in the South Sea, and the Viceroys were moved to take more rigorous precautions against encroachments by foreign traders and colonising Powers.

In the interior of the country the prevailing condition was one of insecurity and suspicion. The native race of Peru had been crushed, by the fall of the Incas, into seeming submission. Its clans were dispirited and broken, but the embers of their forefathers' mettle still smouldered in the people, and the Spaniards, while tacitly contemning them, found cause, nevertheless, for continuing those harsh measures of subjugation to which the usages and untutored ethics of the times forsooth gave warrant. The provincial administration was generally corrupt: so that to the evils of class legislation and the burthen of unfair taxing were added the crudities of one-sided justice, and the exactions of a grasping and dishonest officialdom. The dogmatism of the Jesuits had restricted political progress, whilst the ills of priestcraft, against which the labours of many conscientious and devoted members of the Religious Orders were inadequate to countervail, served to keep plenished the cup of bitterness. These abuses culminated in the terrors of the Inquisition. It is no matter for surprise that, under such conditions, the Viceroys

[1] Walter, R., Bibl. no. 54.

bore their responsibilities with disquietude and left no possible measures unconsidered for rendering their sovereignty secure.

Such, it may be said, were the conditions which for a century and a half preceded the accession of Don MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNIENT to the Viceroyalty of Peru with Chile and the La Plata provinces, in the year 1761; and which existed, though in a less acute degree perhaps, at the time when M. de Surville's ship the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* arrived unexpectedly at Callao. Don Manuel de Amat was a man of strength and will: he came of an ancient and distinguished Catalan family, whose founder in Spain was a knight in the army of Charles Martel, and a contemporary of Pelayo[1]; and his ancestry had included knights of the Holy Order of St John of Rhodes and Malta. His brother Don José was created Marqués de Castelnell by Felipe V; and he was connected with the families of the Conde de Aranda and other high nobles and ecclesiastics[2]. His education had been such as to develop and encourage autocratic ideals. He had adopted a military career, and during eleven years was almost constantly employed on active service, taking part in seven battles in the field, five sieges, two blockades, and a great number of minor actions and skirmishes. He had gained distinction for his prowess in the wars in Africa, where he served five years; he had commanded with credit the famous regiment of dragoons of Sagunto. While still in the prime of life he was appointed Governor of Chile, to which country he journeyed by the route of Buenos Ayres, and thence overland to Valparaiso, assuming there the

[1] A.D. 732.

[2] Piferrer, F., Bibl. no. 47.

Presidential office in December, 1755. During his Governorship he formed several towns, regulated the troops, organised a militia, restrained the natives, and secured the defences of the country by constructing or improving fortifications.

On being appointed Viceroy of Peru he proceeded thither from Valparaiso by sea, and made his entry into Lima on the 21st of December, 1761. As a resolute soldier, the Viceroy Amat at times resorted to measures of a somewhat drastic nature; but notwithstanding the arbitrary trend of his character, he knew how to make many friends, thus acquiring a degree of social influence in Lima to which other dictators had not attained. His dominant passion for all things appertaining to arms met with a wide field for its indulgence when the war[1] broke out between Spain and the united forces of Great Britain and Portugal, in the year of his accession, over the question of the *pacte de famille* between the Bourbon kings[2].

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[1] In the *Annual Register* (Vol. v, anno 1762) there occurs the following extract from a memorial addressed by the Spanish Ambassador (Don Joseph Torrero), and the Minister Plenipotentiary of France (M. Jacques Bernard O'Dun), at the court of Lisbon, dated March 16th, 1762, to the King of Portugal, through his Secretary of State, Dom Luiz da Cunha. It serves to show the tension existing at that time between the nations on the subject of maritime supremacy, and was in fact an overture from France and Spain to Portugal to join them against England—against whom war had already been declared (*vide* footnote, p. xxvii). This was firmly and indignantly refused by Portugal, as England's ancient ally; and involved that gallant kingdom in a war against Spain and France accordingly.

"The two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, have found it proper and necessary to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them; and to take other indispensable measures to curb the pride of the British nation; which, by an ambitious project to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretends to keep dependent the possessions of other Powers in the New World, in order to introduce themselves there either by an underhand usurpation or by conquest."

These events were, however, shortly afterwards followed by the preliminary feelers thrown out by bankrupt and despairing France for peace, which led to the negotiations terminating in the Treaty signed at Paris and Hubertsburg in February, 1763, by which the Seven Years' War was brought to a close.

[2] Mendiburu, M. de, Bibl. no. 35.

A digression now becomes necessary, for the purpose of recounting the occurrences in connection with the settlement of the Falkland Islands, which had begun to be looked upon by England, France, and Spain, each independently, as desirable sentinels or outposts on the main route to and from the Pacific. The purpose of Sir John Narborough's expedition, a hundred years before, has already been alluded to (p. xxxii); and the compiler of the history of Anson's voyage therein affirms that "it appeared by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme Sir John Narborough had been sent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences[1]." These words afford a key to the spirit which animated the Viceroy at Lima, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and the Ministers at the Court of their Sovereign, when the news of Commodore the Hon. John Byron became bruited abroad. This officer had spent much care in examining the Magalhaenic seas, and amongst other things had explored, early in 1765, a portion of the Falkland Group, in pursuance of official instructions based on the advice of Anson, who recommended them as the best halfway house for ships bound round the Horn to refresh at.

The design had been deemed by the Admiralty of so significant a nature that it was not communicated to the crews of Byron's ships until they resumed their voyage after putting in at Rio de Janeiro to refresh. In the month of January, 1765, Byron landed, with Captain Mouat of the *Tamar*, at the Falklands (or *Malvinas*, as they were called in Spanish[2]), and ceremoniously took possession of

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[1] Walter, R., Bibl. no. 54.

[2] From the French *Malouines*, so called after the visits of several ships of that nation hailing from St Malo. American whalers corrupted this into "Maloons," and spoke of the two principal islands as the Eastern Maloon and Western Maloon.

all the islands of the group in the name of the Crown of Great Britain; calling the whole His Majesty's Isles and hoisting a Union Jack in signification thereof. "They were very merry on the occasion, a large bowl of arrack punch being carried on shore, out of which they drank several loyal toasts[1]"—gaily ignorant of the fact that M. de Bougainville had conducted a similar rite on behalf of the King of France nine months before them[2], and that Spain vigorously claimed the islands as hers, asserting that they formed an integral part of her American dominions, on a principle which, as administered more recently by the Government of the United States, has crystallised into what is now known as the doctrine of Monroe.

Spain, indeed, protested so firmly against the existence of a French settlement in the Falklands that the Duc de Choiseul deputed M. de Bougainville himself to hand over his establishment to Spanish control, but it was arranged that that officer should receive a large sum of money for it in compensation of his private disbursements. Its situation was where the modern Port Stanley is, and de Bougainville had called it Port Louis. The Spaniards now occupied it under the name of Puerto de la Soledad, after the frigate commissioned to take it over and resettle it with a Spanish force.

The bay selected by Commodore Byron was about eighty miles farther to the northward and westward, and was named by him Port Egmont; and a small British naval post was installed there, which remained unknown to the Spaniards until the month of November, 1769. Its discovery took both parties by surprise, and culminated locally, some six months later, in the eviction of our people by a vastly superior force sent for the purpose by Don

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[1] Bibl. no. 11 (Anon.).

[2] Pernetty, A. J., Bibl. no. 45; and Goepp et Cordier, Bibl. no. 24

Antonio-Maria de Bucarelli y Ursua, Governor of Buenos Ayres—an act which once more brought England and Spain into acute political conflict and led them to the very brink of war. War, indeed, was only averted by an unexpected side issue—the downfall of France's Minister, the Duc de Choiseul, occurring opportunely at that particular time through the influence of Madame du Barry over Louis XVII. By this means Spain lost the support of France, whose King was pacifically inclined, though his Minister had been otherwise.

These occurrences were taking place during the very period when the case of M. de Surville's ship was causing worries to the Viceroy at Lima; and when, prompted partly by that alarm, but chiefly in consequence of the events reviewed in the context, the expedition under Don Felipe Gonzalez was being promoted. The Viceroy, who stood in the relation of a senior officer to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, was kept duly informed by the latter of the Falkland Islands *impasse*; and it was in great measure to prevent the recurrence of such a risk that the proposal to effectually occupy stations off the Chilian or Western Patagonian seaboard, to form strategic counter-posts on that side of the Straits and of Cape Horn, was evolved. It must not be supposed, therefore, that because a general peace was proclaimed after the termination of the Seven Years' War[1], and the abuse of fire and sword suspended, the tranquillity of Europe was in reality restored. Both France and Spain, in fact, continued to watch with jealous and somewhat petulant minds the rising prosperity of the British colonies; while the predominance of our naval power, and their loss of the oversea territories those nations had

[1] By the Treaty of Paris and Hubertsburg.

been compelled to surrender, afforded an enduring grievance which rankled in the minds of the Bourbon sovereigns and their Ministers, and continued to disturb the contentment of their subjects.

Thus they were impelled not only by the *animus futuri anxius*, but by an *animus quod perdidit optans*; and the natural jealousy of Spain, with the greater part of her vast and rich colonial possessions still to lose, and the assaults of buccaneers and other foreign forces comparatively fresh in memory, was consequently not permitted to diminish, but stimulated her rather to maintain that rivalry in which we find a key to the course of action exhibited in this volume. It was a like feeling which had led to the occupation of the Falkland Islands by M. de Bougainville, who, having served in the defence of Canada as aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, set himself the task of striking out a line by which his country might derive some compensation for the loss of that possession, by the discovery and acquisition of new lands in the Southern seas. The narrative of Commodore Anson's voyage, which had been published some twenty years before and translated into French, is credited with having led M. de Bougainville's attention to the Falklands, as it did that of our own Government; and, through the medium of Bougainville's and Byron's expeditions, that also of Spain.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, and trained by his masterful Genoese Minister, the Marqués de Grimaldi[1],

[1] The Marqués de Grimaldi was Dⁿ Jerónimo, Minister of State, who succeeded Dⁿ Ricardo Wall in that dignity. He was the second son of an illustrious family of Genoa; and was at first destined for the Church. But, coming to Madrid on a mission from his own Republic, his fine presence and cultured manners obtained for him the patronage of the Marqués de Ensenada, through which he procured admission to the Diplomatic Service of the King of Spain; and was employed at the legations of Vienna, Hanover, Stockholm, the Hague, and then Paris. There he became so intimate a friend of the Duc de Choiseul that his frequent and confidential correspondence with that Minister aroused the jealousy of the Marquis de Ossun, who was at that time

to give ear to the promptings of an active colonial policy, King Carlos readily assented to a suggestion for the effective occupation of David's Island (as it was still called), and of other oceanic vantage points, the securement of which His Catholic Majesty claimed to be a prerogative of his sovereignty over Spanish America. In complying with the Royal command the Viceroy of Peru selected for this expedition the two ships of war already named. Their officers were ordered to refind the small island and the tract of coastline reported to have been sighted in 1687 by Edward Davis, the buccaneer; and to identify it, if it should turn out to be the same, with Roggeveen's later discovery. The instructions, as already stated, included a warrant for taking possession of the country in the King's name; and the whole commission was not to end until the outlying island of La Madre de Dios[1] and other possible sheltering or refreshing stations for foreign ships, off the inhospitable coasts of Southern Chile and Patagonia, had been investigated.

The circumstances of the Spaniards' voyage to Easter Island are but little known to most students—especially to

French Ambassador at Madrid and considered himself and his office thereby slighted. This alliance was the basis of a great dislike towards Great Britain, on the part of the two friends, against whose maritime ascendancy they were eager to strike by every possible opportunity: without being over scrupulous or particular as to the measures they employed in that endeavour. It was at this time that the *impasse* between Great Britain and Spain in connection with the occupation of the Falkland Islands reached its most acute stage; for not only the Governor of Buenos Ayres (who was himself of Italian origin), but also the Viceroy of Peru, recognised very fully the importance of those islands as a half-way post for vessels bound round or from the Horn to refresh and refit at. But Choiseul and Grimaldi's desire for war was by no means generally shared by the French, nor even by the people of Spain, where it was expedient for many reasons that peace should be maintained; and, on the dismissal of Choiseul from power in 1770, Grimaldi found himself constrained to abandon his combative designs and to yield to the firmness of the British Government.—The Spanish account of these transactions may be consulted in Dⁿ Carlos Calvo's *Coleccion completa de los Tratados*, etc.; Paris, 1862. [Bibl. no. 13.]

[1] In lat. 50° S., long. 75° W.

those of this country. Something, indeed, was furtively communicated about them through an officer of M. de Surville's ship, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, whose detention at Callao was still going on at the time of Gonzalez's return to that port; and a few other references to the voyage have from time to time been made public from various sources and in various ways. But the Government of Spain had political and economic reasons for guarding the subject in confidence, and, instead of allowing their achievement to gain a place among the records of national events, they consigned the documentary evidence on which it rested to the Keeper of the Archives, in whose custody it found a repose which was not disturbed until the subject had lost its significance and lapsed into oblivion.

On these matters coming recently to my notice I felt not only that they should prove worthy of public interest, but that Don Felipe's renown as a successful explorer called for vindication, however tardy it might be, by whomsoever should chance to exhume his history.

An examination of such well-known and reliable authorities as the works of Cook and of La Pérouse had thrown very little light upon the expedition, though there are brief allusions to it in the volumes of both those writers. Cook "was informed" before he sailed from England on his second voyage round the world "that a Spanish ship had visited this isle in 1769. Some signs of it were seen among the people now about us; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on; another had a grego jacket; and another a red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a musquet, and to stand in much awe of it; but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who if we are to believe the authors of that voyage, left them sufficient tokens[1]."

[1] Cook, Bibl. no 16; Vol. I, p. 279 (3rd edit.).

The official instructions to La Pérouse state, "Les Espagnols ont touché à l'île de Pâque, le 16 Novembre 1770, et l'ont nommée *île San-Carlos* ou *Saint-Charles*. On joint à la collection des cartes remises à M. DE LA PÉROUSE, le plan que les vaisseaux d'Espagne ont fait lever de cette île, dont leurs chaloupes ont fait le tour[1]."

Dalrymple's letter to Dr Hawkesworth comes much nearer to the mark, the communication it contains in the postscript in reference to Easter Island being obviously an epitome of one of the journals of this voyage, which must have been written at the time of the arrival of the two ships at Chiloe. It is here produced, translated anew.

(Translated from the Spanish version preserved among the MSS. in the British Museum [Eg. 902, f. 159]. Before printed as a postscript to Dalrymple's published letter to Dr Hawkesworth[2].)

They write from Chiloe that H.M. ship of the line the *San Lorenzo*, under the command of Snr. Dn. Felipe Gonzalez, arrived in that harbour on the 15th of December 1770, on her return from the Island of David, having sailed from Callao on the 10th of October with the frigate *La Rosalia*, and arrived at that Island the 16th of November; and say that it is some 12 to 15 leagues in circumference; it is not very high.

Its natives number about 3000 of both sexes. They are a people of mild disposition, but great thieves. The men are thickly bearded, tall, well set up, white and ruddy. They keep their fire underground, and it seems that they have some superstition against removing it; this was observed when any of our people wanted to light their tobacco.

They have no weapons but staves and stones, and hold artillery in great dread. They are attracted by everything that is red, and are indifferent towards any other colour whatsoever. Those of which they make use are a sort of red ochre, chalk-white,

[1] La Pérouse, Bibl. no. 46.

[2] Dalrymple, Bibl. no. 17.

and yellow, with which they paint the face and body. They go nude, and cover their parts with a piece of netting made apparently of cotton and cleverly woven; and they make wraps of the same.

Their dwellings are below ground, having a very cramped doorway, and some huts of Straw with the same. The soil is very stony, and there were no trees seen except some figs[1], cotton, and shrubs. Their food is of white Gourds, plantains, sweet potatoes[2], yams, and other Roots of that description; there are many Springs as well of good water, as of some there are of bad; no birds were seen other than a few hens like those of Europe, and when they wish to cook these they put hot stones inside the body until they are fit to be eaten. There is not much fish on the seacoast, there are only some shell-fish and small fish.

They have many Statues of rude form, these are of a single block of stone, and of colossal figure, since they are 20 yards (*varas*) and more in height, and others of three which they keep in front of their Burial places.

The Island has no Harbour anywhere, only a Cove for Launches and small Boats. Its greatest length is about 6 Leagues, and runs from East to West, and it is at this end that three crosses were set up in position on three similar hillocks, making known by this sign that they took possession of it in the King's name, and on this account they call it now *Sn. Carlos*, the which is situated in 27° 6′ lat. South, and 368° 19′ long[3] from the meridian of Tenerife.

There is no good anchorage in all its circuit and the bottom is of the worst description, since in less than 48 hours they had two cables chafed through. Their stay there was no more than five days, at the end of which they went in search of the land sketched on the charts in 38 deg. which they did not find, and then proceeded to Chiloe.

David's Island is about 600 leagues distant from Callao, and about the same from the mainland of Chile.

Other similar letters, written at the same period, exist; though they have not hitherto been printed. A specimen of one of these is however now translated from a MS. copy

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[1] *Higueras*, *i.e.* figs, meaning bananas.

[2] *Camotes*, a word used in the Philippine Islands, meaning the *Kumala*, or sweet potato.

[3] Clearly a copyist's error for 268° 19′.

in the British Museum[1] and forms Appendix III to this volume. It bears neither signature nor superscription, and its writer has not been identified.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* makes no mention of Gonzalez's voyage; *La Grande Encyclopédie* dismisses it in the following curt sentence—"En 1770 don Phillippe Gonzalés prit possession de l'île de Pâques au nom du roi d'Espagne." The *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register* record nothing about it. But turning to the London newspapers of the day, files of which are preserved among the collections at the Guildhall Library, the following short account is worthy of notice. It occurs in *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, no. 2249, on page 529 of the issue for Nov. 29 to Dec. 2, 1771.

Naples, October 10.

David Island was always judged to be farther than it is from Callao. It is now ascertained to be but 605 leagues from that port, and 680 leagues from Chili. The *St Laurent* man-of-war and *Rosalia* frigate sailed from Callao the 10th of September 1770 and appeared off that Island the 16th of October following. Their approach did not seem to inspire the inhabitants with either fear or uneasiness. Their first principle is, that all men are brothers, and therefore there is no reason to be afraid of each other; Several of them jumped into the water and swam to meet the ships, offering fruits, poultry etc. and even their cloaths, which are very ordinary, and seem to be formed of the herbs and fruits of the country. After visiting David Island, the Commandant took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain, with all the military formalities that tend to command respect from his new subjects. A cross was immediately erected to perpetuate the memory of that event and the island was named Saint Charles.

David Island has scarce 1000 inhabitants; their disposition is perfectly mild, but their height and strength render them fit for the strongest exercises; they are unacquainted with metals and

[1] Sp. MSS. Eg. 902, no. 15; fol. 127.

riches, which people think they want, and consequently arts are but little cultivated among them; they have no arms nor cutting instruments, and as they are ready to part with anything they are possessed of, they as readily take anything that gives them pleasure. Men born in rude and savage climates are naturally of a ferocious disposition. A fertile soil, which leaves nothing for the inhabitants to wish for, softens their manners, and inclines them to humanity. This is, without doubt, the cause of the sweet disposition of the inhabitants of David Island; they have poultry in great plenty, and enjoy those products of the earth which require little culture; they live in caves and grottoes under ground; and worship stone statues of a gigantic size.

The same announcement appeared in the *London Chronicle* for 1771, no. 2335, p. 526, Nov. 28 to Nov. 30; and in the *St James's Chronicle* of even date, no. 1680. Something more was learned from a perusal of Claret de Fleurieu's *Examen Critique du Voyage de Roggeween*, contained in the account of Marchand's voyage in the ship *Solide* (vol. III.)[1]; of which the following passage is pertinent to the subject of the Spanish expedition—

Dès l'année 1770, c'est-à-dire, avant les Voyages de Cook et de La Pérouse, les Espagnols avoient retrouvé l'île de Pâques; mais nous serions encore à savoir quel a été le résultat de leur visite, si une Notice *dérobée* ne nous l'eût fait connoître; je dis dérobée, car la politique mystérieuse et exclusive de l'Espagne permet toujours fort tard que ses Découvertes maritimes soient tirées de l'oubli où elles sont plongées en naissant. On a donc su qu'en 1770, un Vaisseau de 70 canons et une frégate de 36, armement suffisant pour subjuguer tous les Archipels du *Grand Océan*, mais peu propre a en faire la recherche, avoient été expédiés du *Callao* de *Lima* pour un Voyage de Découvertes; et que, le 16 Novembre, ils avoient rencontré, loin de toute Terre connue, une île habitée, assez fertile, de 14 à 15 lieues de circonférence; qu'ils avoient mis à terre 350 hommes de troupes et quelques gens de mer bien armés; que s'étant avancés dans l'intérieur de l'île

[1] Marchand, E., Bibl. no. 34.

jusqu'à près de trois lieues, ils avoient élevé trois croix sur trois monticules, et qu'après un *Te Deum* chanté en grande pompe, après trois décharges de mousqueterie et troie salves d'artillerie, ils avoient pris possession de l'île au nom de sa Majesté Catholique, Don Carlos Tersero [*sic*]. Les Espagnols imposérent à cet île le noin de San Carlos; mais on doit croire que, s'ils n'eussent pas ignoré que, depuis longtemps elle étoit connue, ils eussent respecté et conservé le nom de Pâques, quoiqu'il eut été donné a l'île par un Amiral hérétique. Quoiqu'il en soit, ils levèrent un Plan de l'île San Carlos, qui diffère peu de celui que le capitaine Cook nous a donné de l'île de Pâques; et ils conclurent de leurs Observations, et de l'Estime de leur Route rapportée à la Longitude de Lima, que la Pointe Orientale de l'île, au large de laquelle ils avoient ancré, est située à 27 deg. 6 min. de Latitude Sud, et a 268° 19′ de Longitude, Méridien de Tenerife, ou 110°41′ à l'Occident de Paris.

But these and several minor references to the voyage of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia* afforded merely fragmentary evidence, and proved quite inadequate for the construction of a connected narrative of the expedition. Moerenhout, who had the advantage of living and sailing among the islands of Eastern Polynesia, and not infrequently visited Chile and Peru as well, completely ignores the expedition of Gonzalez in treating of the "history" of Easter Island[1]. The late Sir Woodbine Parish, an author whose knowledge of South American affairs, acquired during his official residence in Buenos Ayres, was as sound as it was extensive, curiously omits all mention of Gonzalez's voyage, while giving an outline of the events which led to its being undertaken[2]. And so does Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America*; though all these authors allude to the voyage of Don Domingo Boenechea.

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[1] Moerenhout, Bibl. no. 36.
[2] Parish, W., Bibl. no. 43.

For these reasons I deemed it best to go to the fountain-head for trustworthy information and documentary records; and, an opportunity to embark on such an enterprise occurring in 1903, I revisited Spain and followed up the quest. By a succession of incidents more fortunate than I had dared to hope for, among which the cordial and disinterested attention proffered to me by Spanish officials, naval officers, and other gentlemen, claims my most sincere acknowledgement, my search for original information was rewarded beyond expectation ; and the materials, being pieced together, have been judged to afford a sufficiently circumstantial narrative of a notable, yet little known, historical event to merit the attention of the Hakluyt Society.

One of the first clues met with was a memorandum in the Hydrographic Office of the Navy, at Madrid, to whose archives I was, by direction of Señor Don Joaquin Sanchez de Toca, courteously accorded the freest access, with permission to copy, translate, and publish. This memorandum[1] describes the islands of the Society and Paumotu groups as known to the Spanish naval authorities between the years 1769 and 1776; and contains the following passage—

In the year 1769 the English commander Viron[2], in the voyage which he made round the world, examined several islands in the Pacific Ocean (which he entered by way of the Straits of Magallanes) whose position he withheld from publication in the printed

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[1] *Astronomia y otros Asuntos*, vol. v (ed. 2). [Bibl. no. 5.]

[2] This refers to the Hon. John Byron, whose voyage of circumnavigation in H.M.SS. *Dolphin* and *Tamar* extended from 1764 to 1766, however, not 1769. His examination of islands in the Pacific Ocean took place in 1765. He was the same officer who, as a midshipman, had suffered shipwreck, near the western exit of Magalhaens Straits, in the *Wager*, and having published a narrative of that disaster. His name was well known to the Spanish Government.

account of his voyage which was translated into Spanish in 1769[1]; and, in my opinion, it was that reservation which in the following year 1770, there being then several ships of war in the port of Callao, caused the *S^n Lorenzo* under the command of Dn Felipe Gonzalez, and the frigate *S^ta Rosalia* under Dn Antonio Domonte to be despatched with the view of finding out whether the English (as was presumed likely) had established themselves in any part of America, or in any of the islands to the westward of it, in the course of which expedition the island of David, to which they gave the name of *S^n Carlos*, was examined. And, having proceeded to the port of Chiloe and searched with smaller vessels some 200 leagues along the coast to the southward of that port without having verified the expectation of meeting with any foreign settlement, they returned to port.

The memorandum bears neither signature nor date; but, from internal evidence, it appears probable that it was drafted at Lima from journals and reports which had come to notice there, and that it was completed in 1776, since a portion of it deals with discoveries and explorations which were made in the latter part of 1775. As Don Jorge Juan died in 1773, and Don Julian de Arriaga on the 28th of February, 1776, it could not have been compiled by either of those hydrographers.

Roggeveen's achievements proved barren of results to Dutch enterprise; and the island, so far from being revisited by ships of that nation, lay *perdu* and forgotten once more for a space of forty years. In 1765 it was unsuccessfully searched for as Davis's Land by Commodore Byron, in H.M.S. *Dolphin*: and again, two years later, by Captain Carteret in the *Swallow*. M. de Bougainville next applied himself to find Davis's Land, in February, 1768, only a few months after Carteret's passing;

[1] This printed account of Byron's voyage must have been the one issued in 1767, anonymously. It is entitled "A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin*, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron. By an Officer on board the said Ship. London, 1767."

but he also failed, and he seems not to have suspected that Roggeveen's discovery and Davis's Land might be one and the same. All these commanders subsequently called at Batavia to water, provision, and refit their ships; and opportunities were thus afforded for exaggerated and garbled stories of their adventures to gain currency.

It was just at this time that an extraordinary report reached the ears of certain officials of the French Government in Bengal, who were fitting out a vessel for the Indonesian trade, to the effect that a rich and fruitful island had been discovered by an English ship in the South Sea[1]. It was stated to lie some seven hundred leagues off the Peruvian coast, in the latitude West of Copiapo, between the 27th and 28th parallels. This position agreed pretty closely with the account given by Davis to Dampier, and recorded by Lionel Wafer, as hereinbefore cited. It seems probable that this was but the old story rehabilitated and that it was jumbled up with the rumours of Captain Wallis's discovery of Tahiti—then quite a new and remarkable event. But the means by which it reached India at the particular time in question do not appear to have been revealed to the public; at least we have no generally known record of them. And it is singular that the interest in it should suddenly have become aroused to the pitch of diverting a richly laden ship from her intended

[1] The Editor has had no opportunity of examining the French East India Company's records of the period in question; but it appears most probable that the vessel here referred to was H.M.S. *Dolphin*, in which Captain the Hon. John Byron essayed to find Easter Island in May, 1765. The same frigate again visited these seas in 1767 under the command of Captain Wallis, when that officer discovered Tahiti. He passed on to Batavia in January, 1768, and took his departure from that roadstead for the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward voyage, nine months before M. de Bougainville. Accounts of the remarkable visit to Tahiti of the *Dolphin* would naturally leak out at Batavia and be carried thence to India, either direct, or by way of the Isle de France and so by outward-bound French ships to Pondicherry and Calcutta.

destination, altering her cargo to specially serve the demands, as her charterers believed, of the newly found Elysium, and determining her armament and equipment as a privateer. Such was, however, the case, and the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* was accordingly fitted out in the Hugli mainly at the cost of MM. Law de Lauriston, Chevalier, and de Surville himself[1]. As the voyage was to be one of risk and

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[1] Jean François de Surville was born at Mauritius in 1717 and went to sea in the service of the French East India Company, from whom he received a commission as Ensign when twenty-three years of age, being appointed to a post in the *Dauphin*. After that voyage he was taken prisoner by the English; but in 1784 he again went to sea, in the *Duc de Chartres*, bound for Bourbon and the Isle de France. He had shown a great talent in mathematics and navigation, as well as much activity and zeal; and in 1756 he was promoted to Captain, just at a time when war was imminent. He therefore received command of the *Duc d'Orleans* of 64 guns, with brevet rank as a Captain in the Royal Navy of France for that Commission. He proceeded to the Isle de France, and thence with troops to Pondicherry; returning to Port Louis, where his ship joined a squadron under the Comte d'Ache, who was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the French naval forces in the East. For services rendered in that and the following year de Surville received high commendation; and after several brushes with the British fleet in Indian seas (in one of which his brother, who commanded the *Centaur*, a 70-gun ship, was killed) he was awarded the Cross of St Louis, sent out from France by Royal favour. After several vicissitudes, during which he commanded the *Centaur* and subsequently the *Fortune*, of 64 guns, Capt. de Surville was now appointed Flag Captain to the new Admiral de Saint Georges (the Comte d'Ache having returned to France), in which capacity he served until the end of the war; and returning to France with a crazy ship full of troops he showed much tact and resolution in taking care of them off the African coast and succeeded in not losing a single man.

Pondicherry being ceded after the Peace to France, M. Law was appointed to be Governor there; and to M. de Surville was entrusted the honour of conveying him to the possession, he receiving at the same time a dormant commission to take over the Colony and to act as Governor of it in the case of M. Law's decease. After this he seems to have found it difficult to remain inactive, and employed, like M. de Bougainville, a great part of his private means, under the assistance and patronage of the Duc de Choiseul, then Minister, to build and fit out a vessel of 32 guns, at Nantes, in the desire to employ his time during the peace in making discoveries or explorations useful to navigation and French commerce; and to reimburse himself, out of any profits the voyage might bring forth, for the very considerable advances he had been obliged to make.

M. Law and M. Chevalier, in India, feeling reliance in his loyalty, courage, and talents, associated themselves with M. de Surville in this

uncertainty she was supplied with twenty-six twelve-pounders and six smaller guns, and provisioned for three years. At the last moment a detachment of twenty-four Indian marines was embarked, under the command of a Captain of Grenadiers. That the atmosphere of mystery by which she was surrounded at the time of fitting out, and again when she terminated her voyage at Callao, as will be presently related, may be sufficiently accounted for, the narrative of one of her officers[1] who kept a journal is here quoted:—

As the story of the voyage of this ship, called the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, becomes of interest only from the moment of her fitting out for a voyage of discovery, events up to that point will be passed over in silence.

MM. Law, Chevalier, and de Surville, who were the owners, at first intended her for trading between one East Indian possession and another; but they changed their plans when news of the discovery by an English ship of an island in the South Seas became spread abroad. So much of this circumstance as came to their knowledge was of so extraordinary a nature that it deserved their fullest attention; and therefore, looking at the affair from the point of view of public policy, they no longer hesitated as to the sort of equipment to be provided, in order to forestall the English in case these should be wishing to undertake a second voyage for the purpose of assuming possession of this island.

No doubt impulsiveness and love of the marvellous—sentiments common enough with persons who follow the sea—had their influence in leading the owners to conceive an inflated

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enterprise and placed the conduct of it entirely in his hands. It was to this ship, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, and the rash and extraordinary project on which her commander embarked in her, that the narrative now alludes. The above outline relating to M. de Surville's career is gathered in part from the *Histoire Abrégée de la Mer du Sud* (Bibl. no. 9) by M. de la Borde, who begins by effusively observing that a navigator who has carried to the tomb the esteem of all Europe may well claim the tribute of a few tears with which to moisten his ashes.

[1] M. Pierre de Monneron, who accompanied de Surville; and subsequently sailed under La Pérouse in the *Boussole*, in the capacity of *Capitaine du Génie*, principal scientist or "engineer."

notion of the profits they divined in the story of this island; yet it was natural, even after making ample allowance for exaggeration, that they should believe it richer than other countries from the fact that its situation is about seven hundred leagues to the Westward of the coast of Peru, in the latitude of from 27° to 28°, which is that of Copiapo, from whence the Spaniards draw immense wealth in bullion[1]. An enterprise of this kind might nevertheless involve many risks, and one could not but take the most prudent precautions for keeping the secret. The expenses must necessarily be very considerable; the owners therefore placed a rich lading on board their vessel in order to assure themselves against loss, one calculated to bring in sufficient profits from which, even if disposed of at ordinary prices, to reimburse themselves for the advances which such an outfit demanded.....

The ship *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* had been built scarcely a year when the project of this extensive equipment was conceived. She was thereupon armed throughout, and provisioned for three years; in fact, during five months of preparation nothing was neglected for putting her, and also her crew, into a condition to undergo any kind of exigency.....

It being essential that the real object of the expedition should be concealed, it was given out in India that a trade with Manila, China, and Batavia was all that was contemplated; but such extensive preparations as were made appeared useless for any ordinary voyage, and could not but presage something out of the common in view; the Captain alone knew the secret of the project and the reason for the equipment; and those of the ship's people who believed themselves better informed found occasion more than once, later on, to verify the falsity of their conjectures.

M. de Surville accordingly took command, and sailed from the Hugli on the 3rd of March 1769. After calling at Yanon and Masulipatam, to complete her lading, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* proceeded to Pondicherry, where she arrived on the 5th of May; and from whence she took her final departure on the 2nd of June of the same year, on

[1] This reasoning shows a speculative mind, but is more bold than logical.

a voyage which proved as ruinous for the principals in the speculation as it was lamentable for the persons embarked in the vessel. The reader who wishes to follow the fortunes of M. de Surville and his crew should consult the pages of Fleurieu or La Borde; to detail them here would be foreign to the subject in hand. But it is necessary to state that after suffering many delays through adverse weather, scurvy, and the lack of sound provisions, they were forced to bear up for the South American continent, with the loss of many of their men, short of water, and the ship badly storm-beaten. When in 109° of longitude West of Paris, M. de Surville studied to reach the latitude of 28° or 27° S., which would have brought him towards the cynosure of his ambition and the destination to which by his instructions he was bound; but, meeting with contrary winds in those regions, and being in the last extremity of distress through the recurrence of scurvy and lack of fresh water, he was forced to give up the design. On the 24th of March, 1770, they sighted the islands of Juan Fernandez, and found themselves 180 leagues farther East than their reckoning indicated. From this point they steered a northerly course in order to make the Peruvian coast, which, finally, they succeeded in doing on the 5th of April near the island of San Galan. On the morning of the 8th signals were made and guns fired to attract attention; but no person ventured off from the shore. The events which followed, and which an hour later witnessed the doom of M. de Surville to a watery grave, are described by M. de Monneron; but it is more to the point that the thread of the narrative should here be taken up by the Spanish authorities; and the first document to claim mention in the history is a letter written by the parish priest of Chilca, the village opposite which the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* lay signalling, and off whose beach the French commander met his death.

The letter itself is not extant, or, if it is, may possibly be among the Viceregal papers preserved at Lima. But the Viceroy states, in his official review of the occurrences during his administration[1], compiled for the information and guidance of his successor, that

> the parish priest of Chilca, in the Province of Cañete, eleven leagues distant from this capital [meaning Lima] wrote me a letter dated the 7th of April, 1770, acquainting me with the appearance at sundown of a ship on that coast, which had fired two guns when the morning dawned. On which, the Indians went down to the beach and observed a small boat beating towards the shore, and which at last delivered a despatch intended for the Higher Government; the sailor stating that she was a French vessel, and that her captain, M. Sourbille [*sic*], had met with a fatal disaster together with three companions who had sprung into the boat along with him.
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> In the despatches assistance was requested of me for relieving the straits to which the vessel was reduced through lack of men and the scorbutic condition of the few surviving ones, including at the same time, as a plea, the fact that she had sailed from the town and port of Ponticheri in the East Indies, on the Coromandel coast, under a commission from the Governor, M. Lasi de Loriston [*sic*].
>
> Bearing in mind H.M.'s Royal Command of the 3rd of December 1767...I immediately directed by executive order that the King's galiot should proceed with provisions and suitable refreshments, and accompanied by fifty armed men and sailors. I also arranged that Capt. Prévoste should go by land to the village of Chilca with a picket of soldiers and help of the same kind; but with a warning that no trading of any sort should be permitted with the said ship, which arrived on the 10th of the month in the harbour of El Callao, her second Captain, M. Guillermo Labè, begging for such assistance as might serve to relieve the distressful condition to which they found themselves reduced.

The Viceroy's despatch, N° 305, to the Secretary of State for the Indies, written shortly after this event,

[1] Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

describes it in more detail than the above extract; and gives some particulars of the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste's* ill-fortune. It has a significant bearing on the evident anxiety displayed by the Viceroy in regard to the possible occupation of Easter Island by a foreign Power; and, as it has not been published before, it is here included.

[DESPATCH

from the Viceroy of Peru to Don Julian de Arriaga, Secretary of State for the Indies.]

N° 305.

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting the arrival on the coast of a French ship named the *San Juan Batista*, which had sailed from the port of Pondichery on the Coromandel coast of East India; and giving an account of the arrangements he has made and is still making for conducting the official enquiry, which he proposes to institute in due course.

I bring to your Excellency's notice, in order that you may be good enough to acquaint His Majesty therewith, that on Palm Sunday, the 8th inst., at six o'clock in the morning, information reached me to the effect that the native Headmen [*Indios Alcaldes*] of the village of Chilca, a harbour some fourteen leagues to windward of Callao, had arrived, bringing with them a man of their own colour whom they stated to be the survivor of four or five who were cast away, in their sight, at that part of the coast, in consequence of the small skiff in which they came from their ship having capsized in the surf. They observed also the ship, a short distance off the land, making signals of urgent distress by repeatedly firing guns.

Suspended from his neck, the seaman produced a bottle in good preservation, containing certain papers. On my examining these, which were written in the French language, I learned that the vessel was named the *San*

Juan Batista, of French nationality, and had come from the settlements which that nation possesses on the coasts of Bengal; and that, having sailed from the port of Pondichery situated on the Coromandel coast, she had occupied many months in following various courses and tracks in search of New Guinea, New Zealand, and other islands. Eventually she had reached the latitude of 27° S., the ship being severely battered; and the crew, exhausted by scurvy, having lost about half their number, while the survivors were prostrated by illness and debility. Owing to the wretched condition they were in, and to having no more than a single anchor remaining, through having lost the others at various roadsteads they had touched at *en route*, the officers resolved to make for these coasts; and it was in consequence of the helpless state of the men that the Captain himself proceeded for the shore with three or four of the strongest of the seamen remaining to him, in order to beg for assistance and for permission to enter the port. When, however, they had landed the man who conveyed the letters, they were so unfortunate, in returning towards the ship, as to get their boat capsized through the roughness of the sea, the Captain and two of the men who accompanied him perishing within sight of the *Alcaldes*.

The papers contained in the bottle comprised a letter signed by Mons. Sourbill, which, as I have stated, was the name of the Captain, in which he referred at length to the exigencies of the situation he found himself in, and begged for assistance and permission to bring his ship into harbour; another, a letter of recommendation on behalf of the expedition, to the Governor of Manila; and, finally, a memorandum of the consultation held on board by his officers in the latitude already mentioned, for the purpose of deciding what port they should make for, in which the pressing necessity they were in to get to port was stated in great detail. Accompanying this last document were

sundry clauses of their Orders, together with a copy of a passport issued by the Governor and Council of the East India Company, whose head-quarters are at one of the ports of Bengal.

In these circumstances, and bearing in mind the tenour of the Royal Commands of December 13 of '64 and November 9 of '67, I gave immediate effect to such arrangements as I judged suitable, both by sea and by land, calculated as much for the sake of rendering prompt assistance to those needing it as with a view to forestall any contraband trafficking which might be attempted under the cloak of distress. In the course of giving effect to my orders the Captain's body was found, and suitably interred, without either of the others' being met with. At the same time, succour was sent to the ship in the way of refreshments, and she was assisted to an anchorage at a fair distance from the shore, in a position quite apart from the regular packets, and those of Spain, lying in the roadstead. I directed Lieutenant Colonel don Demetrio Egan, with fifteen grenadiers of the Guard, to immediately repair on board the ship, and this instruction was carried out the moment she arrived, while still under canvas and before the anchor was let go. My purpose was that, after fulfilling the obligations of humanity towards the officers and ship's complement—a service entrusted to the Royal officer on duty and the *Guarda Maior* of Callao, in accordance with separate instructions which I issued to the three—not even the value of a needle should be permitted to quit the ship nor be received on board under any pretext whatsoever, and that, to this end, they should prohibit all persons, without distinction of rank, quality, or sex from approaching or holding communication with those on board of her. I directed that the sick be transferred to the village of Bellavista, where I ordered hospital accommodation to be provided for them in the house which

belonged to the banished Religious Orders [*regulares expatriados*], taking all possible precautions during their conveyance thither, and providing them with treatment, all good offices and medicines; notwithstanding which ten or twelve of them succumbed, and many others barely became convalescent. I allowed the officers such amount of clothing as was necessary for their use, and then closed up the hatchways, sleeping berths, and cabins, under seal in conformity with the Regulations relating to ships arriving from "foreign," and having collected the Orders, invoices, logs, manifest, and other documents, these were put in hand to be translated with a view to furnish materials for instituting an official enquiry with all due formalities. And, by consent of the officers, and on their representation of the condition of the vessel, which was much damaged, she was submitted to survey without loss of time, and the necessary repairs taken in hand.

The principal feature which has, so far, been revealed from an examination of the papers, which are numerous, is that the vessel comes well stocked with Indian goods, and that the true or apparent object which the originators of the undertaking proposed to themselves—amidst an infinity of projects relating to the Philipines, Japan, China, and sundry islands, and other coasts, was to effect a settlement in some land supposed to have been discovered by *David*, an Englishman, in 1685, which is placed on the charts between the 25th and 28th degree of South latitude, lying East and West with Coquimbo and Copiapo in the vice-kingdom of Chile, some 500 or 600 leagues distant from that coast. They believed that very particular accounts were obtained of this place by another English vessel which had recently visited it, prior to taking her departure for the Cape of Good Hope, for which they say she was bound.

But as these objects and their outcome will be fully

shown in the course of the official enquiry for which preparation is now being made with all the care the subject demands, and at which, by the Captain's and officers' request, counsel has been appointed to represent their interests, it is not yet possible to draw a safe conclusion in regard to the business, nor as to the measures which should be taken in virtue of it—which, however, I will not fail to communicate as soon as a convenient opportunity shall offer.

May our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years of life. Lima, 20th of April, 1770.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful servant
kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother Don Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of St John of Malta.

The foregoing despatch was followed, four days later, by another on the same general subject (N° 307), but neither the original nor any copy of this could be found at the *Archivo*. That of the Viceroy numbered 396 therefore occupies the first place in the series of Royal Commands, Minutes, and Despatches which record the history of Gonzalez's expedition, and which, read with the journals of the Commodore and of the Chief Pilots of the Ship and the Frigate respectively, form the main body of the present volume, following the extract from Roggeveen's log.

THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The incidents of the finding of the autograph MS. of Roggeveen's official log, more than a hundred years after it was impounded, have already been narrated in this volume. (pp. xxiv—xxvi.)

The logs or journals of the *San Lorenzo's* and *Santa Rosalia's* voyage herein presented are three in number. One of these is from the commodore's own hand, and occurs as an enclosure with his official report of arrival at the harbour of San Carlos, in the island of Chiloe, which he took occasion to send on from that place to the Secretary of State, and a copy of which was transmitted to Madrid under cover of the Viceroy's despatch no. 396, dated the 5th of February, 1771, also addressed to the Secretary of State Don Julian de Arriaga[1].

Don Felipe's letter dated the 28th of March following, in which he announced the completion of his commission and his arrival in Callao roads, is also given; together with further important despatches from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State. The originals of these despatches, and the copy of Don Felipe's log, from which the translation has been made, are preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* in the old Lonja building at Seville, of which I was readily allowed the entry; but a second official copy was also consulted among the treasures of the *Real Academia*

[1] The copy of Gonzalez's report preserved in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* bears neither signature nor address. One may suppose it should have been sent to the Viceroy, but the copy in the *Archivo* is addressed to the Secretary of State. His later letter, dated March 28th and reporting his arrival at Callao, refers to the former as having been despatched overland by the courier to Buenos Ayres, and is also addressed to the Secretary of State. There can be no mistake about this as the *Archivo* document bears Don Felipe's autograph signature. Another copy must therefore have been sent to the Viceroy, from Chiloe; inasmuch as His Excellency forwarded it on before the return of the ships to Callao.

de la Historia at Madrid, in whose library I worked, by kind permission of the Señor Don Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, during many pleasant weeks.

Another and fuller journal of the voyage was kept by Don Juan Hervé, a naval sub-lieutenant who occupied the position of first pilot in the *San Lorenzo.* He also constructed a chart of Easter Island from a running survey made by himself in the ship's launch, in which, accompanied by Lieut. Don Cayetano de Lángara and a midshipman and boat's crew, he circumnavigated it. The original Indian ink drawing of this chart I met with in duplicate, one copy being in the *Archivo General de Indias* and the other amongst a collection of miscellaneous plans and sketches in an old portfolio at the Hydrographic Office of the *Ministerio de la Marina.* The reproduction of it which accompanies this volume has been prepared from an admirable facsimile specially made for me by Don Guillermo de Federico y Villaroel, chief draughtsman, which is now in the Map-room of the British Museum. The translation of Hervé's journal hereinafter presented is made from two copies also preserved among the Archives in the Hydrographic Office. One of these is a certified copy of one which was in the possession of Don Domingo José Vazqués; a well-known commander and Pacific pilot, and corresponds word for word with a copy written in 1774 on board the frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad.* The authorship is not asserted in the title, nor does it definitely appear from the internal evidence afforded by the journal alone; but it is vouched for at the end of the document in a *Nota* appended by Señor Baleato, and bearing his signature, dated at Lima in 1815. He ascribes it to Hervé on the authority of Don Domingo José Vazqués, above named; and a comparison of certain clauses in it with the accounts written by the two other officers sets aside all doubt as to the correctness of this conclusion.

The third journal, which is the fullest and perhaps the best, is from the pen of Don Francisco Antonio de Agüera y Infanzon, who sailed as first pilot in the *Santa Rosalia*, with the rank of *Alferez de Fragata*, or sub-lieutenant; this combination of duties and titles would correspond nearly with the position formerly occupied in our own Navy by the "master." In translating this journal I have used the official copy filed in the *Archivo General de Indias*; but two other copies made from it in pursuance of the Royal Command dated January 1st, 1778, and attested by Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, are in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* at Madrid, and these were collated and found to be the same. This Ayala (a common and renowned name in South America) was at that date principal assistant Secretary and Keeper of the Archives in the *Despacho Universal de Indias*—the India and Colonial Office as we might term it—under His Excellency Don Josef de Galvez, Secretary of State. A fourth contemporary, or nearly contemporary, copy of Agüera's journal is in the Manuscripts Room of the British Museum. It is neatly written in a Spanish hand on paper of the same quality as the others, and bears a similar but not identical watermark.

It will be noticed that none of the journals include particulars of the homeward voyage from Chiloe to Callao de Lima, but Don Felipe's report of arrival (dated 28th of March, 1771) explains in a few sentences that he again sighted Easter Island during that traverse, though no other land was discovered.

The materials thus gathered proved, on examination, to comprise all the documents necessary for a study of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia's* expedition, excepting the Royal Command dated the 26th of October, 1769, on which the expedition was founded, and the Viceroy's despatch no. 363, which was written on the day the ships

sailed from Callao announcing their departure and mission, and included a copy of His Excellency's Instructions to Commodore Gonzalez, which had been signed five days before. These were not found at the *Archivo*, and the Secretary assured me that they did not exist there. I also failed to meet with any copy of them elsewhere; but the time at my disposal did not allow of a prolonged search.

SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

The following particulars of the naval career of the officers have been gathered from the biographical work[1] of the late Admiral Francisco de Paula Pavia, the *Cronica Naval de España* by Don Jose Marcelino Travieso, and from studies made in the Hydrographic Office, and the Royal Naval Museum adjoining the *Ministerio de la Marina* at Madrid.

Don FELIPE GONZALEZ Y HAEDO was born at Santona, in the first or second year of the eighteenth century. His parents are referred to as worthy and respectable people, but poor in this world's goods. An early love of the sea was responsible for his choice of a profession, and after qualifying as a "pilot" in home waters he began, at the age of twenty-five years, to serve as an "aspirant" (as candidates were termed) for a position in the Royal *Armada*; and entered the service with an appointment to the *San Bernardo* in the grade of apprentice or cadet. Two years later he joined the *Santiago*, and by study and application to duty gained the good opinion of his superiors, and succeeded in passing the prescribed examination. In 1730 he was appointed to the *Aranzasu*, in which vessel he proceeded to Cartagena in the West Indies, and back to Cadiz. He was next employed in the Mediterranean; and, after

[1] Pavia, F. P. de, Bibl. no. 44.

returning to Cadiz in 1736 joined the *Incendio*, bound for La Vera Cruz, whence he came back to Europe with the fleet under the Marqués de Torre Blanco. After much service in various seas he was promoted, in 1751, to the rank of junior lieutenant (*Teniente de Fragata*), and nine years later was given command of the *Arrogant*, frigate, to watch over eighteen vessels sheltering in the bay of Ferrol from the enemy's cruisers.

Subsequently, Don Felipe served in sundry ships of the line until he gained his promotion to Commander (*Capitan de Fragata*) which was not until 1766, by which time he was some sixty-four years of age. After another West Indian voyage he was sent in the *Firme* to hunt down certain piratical *xebeques* of Algiers which were hovering about Cape St Vincent; but, though he succeeded in sighting them, they managed to evade his pursuit by virtue of their superior speed and handiness.

In 1769 Don Felipe was appointed to the command of the fine ship *San Lorenzo*, pierced for sixty-four guns but able to mount seventy, which he commissioned at the Cadiz dockyard, and navigated to El Callao de Lima, carrying troops and military stores, and occupying more than six months on the voyage. It was shortly after his arrival there that he was selected by the Viceroy to conduct the expedition to take possession of "David's Land," and whilst so engaged the announcement of his promotion to Post Captain (*Capitan de Navio*) reached Lima. He subsequently took the ship home to Cadiz, in 1772, conveying treasure to the amount of 119,521 *pesos*, and he again made the Callao voyage out and home in 1774. In the year after that he commanded the *San Miguel*, ship of the line, forming one of the fleet under the famous Admiral Don Juan Francisco de Lángara, and in 1778 the King appointed him to the *San Isidoro*, of Gaston's squadron. Later, when commanding the *Serio*, this gallant and hardworking old

sea-dog engaged and overpowered the British line-of-battle ship *Ardent*, of 74 guns; and took part in the action with Lord Howe's squadron off Gibraltar, after which, although his ship was badly battered and all but disabled, he contrived to get her safely into Cadiz, where she was paid off.

Promoted in 1782 to the rank of *Brigadier* or Commodore he made one more voyage to South America, in the *San Eugenio*, of which ship he took command in succession to his old Easter Island comrade Don Antonio Domonte, returning to Spain five years after that date to receive the substantive rank of Rear-Admiral (*Jefe de Escuadra*). But by this time his years and increasing infirmities compelled the old gentleman to give up active service afloat, though he continued to work in the Navy Office until his death, which took place in 1792 at the mellow age of ninety years, seventy-five of which, with but short intervals, had been spent on sea service.

Of the private life of Don ANTONIO DOMONTE little is on record. Born at Seville, he conceived at an early age a desire to serve in the navy; and obtained a nomination as midshipman in 1734, joining at Cadiz early in that year. He received promotion to a junior sub-lieutenancy in 1740, senior sub-lieutenant in 1747, junior lieutenant in 1751, and senior lieutenant in 1759. He served seven years in that rank, and next became a Commander, obtaining his Post Captaincy twelve days after he embarked in the *Santa Rosalia* on the expedition to Easter Island. Ten years later on he was promoted to "Brigadier" or Commodore, and in 1789 he became a Rear-Admiral. His younger days were chiefly spent in the Atlantic and Mediterranean ships, going both to South and North America. He was present at the engagement outside the Havana in 1748, between Admiral Knowles and Commodore Don Andrés Reggio; and, in 1762, when in

command of a small frigate in the Mediterranean, he successfully beat off two Algerine *xebeques* of 30 guns, and inflicted great damage on them.

After visiting Callao and accomplishing his cruise to Easter Island and Chiloe in the *Santa Rosalia* he is next heard of in command of a 70-gun ship, the *Oriente*, forming one of Admiral Castejon's squadron in the expedition against Algiers in 1775, where he saw some service. In 1779, when commanding the *San Eugenio*, ship of the line, he formed one of the combined Spanish and French fleet of sixty-eight vessels, under Admiral Don Luis de Cordova and the Comte d'Orbilliers, which blockaded the English Channel and captured the British *Ardent* of 74 guns. On returning to Cadiz he joined Lángara's fleet in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, still in the *San Eugenio*, and in 1780 took part in the renowned combat near Gibraltar (off Cape *Santa Maria*) in which Admiral Rodney defeated his gallant antagonist and took him prisoner. The *San Eugenio* was among the captured; but, a prize crew being put on board, she was subsequently retaken by her own people and got safely into Cadiz. Don Antonio then again joined Don Luis de Cordova, and was present at the capture of a British convoy of fifty-five sail, which he escorted into Cadiz Bay. After that he took part in the siege of Gibraltar, and in the defeat of his squadron by Admiral Lord Howe off the entrance to the Straits on the 22nd of October, 1782. He gave up service afloat in the following year, and after fifty years spent in the service of his country, remained ashore until his death, which occurred in 1792.

The Bailio Fray don JULIAN DE ARRIAGA Y RIVERA was a high official appointed by King Ferdinand VI in 1754 to be Secretary of State for the Navy, and also the Indies, by which term all the Spanish colonies and possessions abroad were included. He began his career as a junior

sub-lieutenant in the navy, in 1728, and sailed in the fleet of the Marqués de Marz to South America, returning to Cadiz two years later. He received a step in 1731, another in 1732, and a third in 1733, by which he became then a senior lieutenant. He saw some active service off Algiers, and was employed in the Atlantic and Mediterranean for a while; after which he went to the Falkland Islands, Valparaiso, and Callao, returning to Cadiz before his next commission, which was to North America and the West Indies. In 1739 he was promoted to *Capitan de Fragata*, or Commander, and in 1745 became a Post Captain. In 1748 he commanded a division, in the *America*; and next went to the West Indies again and Cartagena (S.A.) until 1751. In that year he received the substantive rank of Commodore, and was appointed Governor and Captain-General of Venezuela. Twelve months later he returned to Cadiz, to be Superintendent of the Dockyard and Naval Establishments there, and President of the West India House, in which position he remained until appointed to the Cabinet, as mentioned above, where he succeeded the well known Marqués de Ensenada. He was also promoted to the rank of Admiral; and King Carlos III, on coming to the throne, confirmed him in these offices, which he continued to hold until his death, early in 1776.

Don Julian was nearly the victim of an intrigue on the part of the Marqués de Grimaldi, who wished to re-induct the Marqués de Ensenada in order that he might receive his support and co-operation in bringing about the fall of the Marqués de Esquilache—who held the portfolio for War and the Treasury—but the King refused to be a party to these designs, and Arriaga retained his post.

He is said to have been an active chief; and, if his naval training had made him unswerving in matters of discipline, his natural tendencies left him at least a merciful

judge in questions of dispute, and especially humane in regard to punishments.

He was strongly impressed with the inadequacy of the Spanish navy to cope with the fleets of Great Britain in the wars of 1762 and later, when his country was drawn into a quarrel originally France's. He therefore stirred up the activity of the dockyards, especially at Cartagena—which was at that period the principal naval centre in Spain, and where an Englishman (Edward Bryant) held the post of Chief Constructor. He regulated the work of all the naval yards and arsenals, introduced into the service a new system of *galeotas* or bomb vessels, and established fixed rules for the construction and armament of ships of the line, which represented Spanish ideas and methods as distinguished from the French or British practice previously in vogue. He regulated the complements of ships, their marine artillery, stores, and equipment; and established special batteries for training the gunners, navigation colleges for officers of merchant shipping, and many other useful institutions relating to seamanship and maritime commerce. He insisted that the uniform and clothing of the men of the navy, in every rank, should be woven exclusively from materials furnished in the country itself, to the exclusion of imported products. He made successful efforts for the repression of piracy on the Algerian coasts; and even took into consideration improvements for the status and pay of the army. Is was under his administration, in fact, that the old-fashioned and cumbrous *esponton* or lance was replaced by the musket, and the halberd given up for the bayonet. At Cartagena the docks, quays, hospital, and prison were built by his direction; and no less than thirty-three ships of the line (including the *Santissima Trinidad*, 140 guns, of Nelson fame), eleven frigates, eight *xebeques*, and a great number of small craft were launched from the naval yards of the nation during Don Julian's tenure of office as Secretary of State.

Among the reverses suffered by the navy which caused him much chagrin, though, having seen a good deal of foreign countries and of Britain's strength on the high seas he was by no means optimistic or over sanguine, were the capitulation of Manila to General Draper and Admiral Cornish, and the capture of Havana by our West Indian fleet under Admiral Pocock.

Don Julian de Arriaga was a Bailio, or Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St John of Malta, a Privy Councillor, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to His Majesty. He was succeeded in office as Secretary of State for the Department of the Indies by Don José Galvez; and of the Navy by Admiral the Marqués Gonzalez de Castejon. He died near Madrid on February 28th, 1776.

Don VICENTE HEZETA was born of a good Biscayan family at Bilbao, and entered the navy as a midshipman at Cadiz in 1751. By 1770 he had attained the rank of senior lieutenant, in which he figures in the voyage to Easter Island, though it seems not quite clear which of the two vessels he belonged to. It was seven years after that that he gained promotion to Commander; but he rose to be Commodore in 1802, and Rear-Admiral in 1809. He had returned to Spain after his visit to Easter Island, serving mostly in the West Indies and Mediterranean until he joined Admiral Lángara's squadron in the latter sea, where he took part in the Toulon affair. On his retirement from active service he withdrew into Murcia (joining the national party against the French in 1808), where he died from illness in 1815 at the age of eighty years, sixty-four of which had been spent on service.

Don ANTONIO DE CORDOVA Y LASSO, whose career was one of constant and hard service, was born at Seville, and came of a family which had contributed many members to the navy for generations past. He joined at Cadiz, with a nomination as midshipman, in 1755, and served in several different ships on the home and Mediterranean stations,

taking part in several single actions with Algerian corsairs and smuggling craft. He next sailed to the Havana in the fleet of Don Gutierrez de Hevia, on that officer receiving the marquisate del Real Transporte in recognition of having safely conveyed King Carlos III and the rest of the Royal Family in his ship the *Fenix*, from Naples to Barcelona. After that, he had several more encounters with Algerine corsairs and saw much service in the Atlantic. Being promoted in 1767 to senior sub-lieutenant he joined the *Santa Rosalia*, frigate, in that rank at Cadiz when she left for Callao; and proceeded later in her on her voyage to Easter Island as consort to the *San Lorenzo*, in which ship he returned to Europe in 1772, being by then a junior lieutenant.

Three years subsequently he was commander of the frigate *Santa Maria de la Cabeza* during her exploring and surveying voyage in the waters of the Terra Magellanica; and after that he had charge of the store-ships *Santa Casilda* and *Santa Eulalia* on a similar errand, his narrative of which expeditions forms a printed volume well known to bibliographers and students of geographical discovery[1]. Later on he commanded the three-decker *Reina Luisa* for five years, became a Rear-Admiral in 1802; and died in his native Andalusian city nine years afterwards.

Born at Lagroño and destined from childhood for the naval profession Don PEDRO DE OBREGON entered the service as a midshipman at Cadiz in 1767; and, after his elementary studies and a short voyage to the Canary Islands and back, with troops and stores, joined the *San Lorenzo* and proceeded in her to Callao. His name figures in the documents relating to the act of possession of Easter Island in 1770 as a Passed Midshipman [*Guardia marina*

[1] Bibl. no. 55.

havilitado]: he returned to Spain in 1774 in the *Liebre* frigate. In 1780, while in command of the store-ship *San Pio* on his way back from the Havana, he fought and captured the British privateer or armed merchantman *Nancy*. Later on he was present in the *Septentrion*, of Don Luis de Cordova's squadron, at the taking of the British *Ardent*, of 74 guns: as well as at the siege of Gibraltar, and the battle with Admiral Viscount Howe off Tarifa in 1782. Ten years later he commanded the three-decker *San Hermengildo* before Toulon under Lángara in concert with Admiral Hood. In 1794 he was sub-inspector of naval stores at Ferrol yard, and was promoted to Rear-Admiral in the following year. He next commanded a squadron of four ships of the line, two frigates, and a brig, hoisting his pennant in the *San Fernando* of 90 guns; and made a very successful voyage from Ferrol to the Canary Islands and back. He became a Vice-Admiral in 1805 and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the dockyards and arsenal at Ferrol. Then came his *débâcle*, for, on the place falling into the hands of the French under Marshal Ney, Don Pedro, refusing to leave it, accepted service in his same position under the enemy—whom he is stated to have next betrayed to his own nation. His resignation and withdrawal from Spain was the only course open to him; and he fled. He was deprived of his rank, however, and his goods were sequestrated by order of the Regency.

THE SHIPS.

From an extract of the log kept by Lieutenant Don Pedro Autran de la Torre[1], who went out to Callao in the *San Lorenzo* from Europe, it appears that she was a *navio*,

[1] *Diarios*, *C* 3°, *Tomo I*, pp. 59—62, and 168, MS.; in the Archives of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy, Madrid. Bibl. no. 19 a.

or ship of the line, pierced for 64 guns but able to mount 70 if needed. She proceeded from Cadiz on November the 8th, 1769, under the command of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez, carrying troops and stores for Callao, where she arrived after a protracted and unfortunate voyage on May the 21st, 1770. She had, at that time, no less than five hundred and ninety men on the sick list with scurvy; and she had lost sixty-three others by death, having occupied 194 days on the passage. The same commander subsequently took her home, carrying treasure to the amount of 119,521₱, and she arrived at Cadiz on the 1st of June, 1772, with only ten men sick. In a report from the Viceroy to the King it appears that a 64-gun ship should carry, on the Peruvian station, in 1776, a complement of officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, and dependents, to the number of 479 souls[1].

The *Santa Rosalia* was a frigate, and therefore of considerably smaller tonnage and armament than her consort, but no doubt a swifter sailer. She carried from 26 to 30 guns. Few particulars of her career have been found available, and owing to other frigates of the same name having been built at no very distant time from her own active service, some ambiguity of meaning attaches to such references as were met with. But it is pretty clear that she was one of several vessels built at Cartagena or Cadiz, from designs by Edward Bryant, an English naval constructor who was induced to quit his occupation at Gravesend and accept employment under the Spanish Government, as did several others about the same time[2]. Several very beautiful models of Spanish ships of war of the period may be seen in the Royal Naval Museum at Madrid, adjoining the *Ministerio de la Marina*; especially

[1] Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

[2] Pavia, F. P. de, Bibl. no. 44, and Charnock, J., Bibl. no. 15.

attractive is the frigate *Flora*, in Room VII. N° 64 in the same room is catalogued as the *Santa Rosalia*, of 30 guns; but this model, which is in frame only, represents a frigate of some forty years' later date bearing the same name. The *San Lorenzo's* consort returned from Callao to Cadiz in 1772, carrying treasure to the amount of 200,000₱[1].

A 26-gun frigate carried, in those days, a complement of 267 persons, of whom six held military or combatant rank, two were Surgeons, two Chaplains, one a Paymaster, and four were "pilots" or navigating officers. Able seamen numbered 60, ordinary seamen 58, boys 10, marines 41, and marine artillery-men 46. The rest were petty officers and idlers. One is rated as *sangrador*, "phlebotomist[1]."

I cannot refrain from recording here an expression of the obligation I feel under to His Excellency the Rt Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, P.C., G.C.M.G., &c., by whose courtesy and kindly interest I was placed in personal communication with the Spanish naval authorities, and was made to feel more like a welcome guest than a somewhat diffident pryer into state papers. I have already mentioned the Señor Don Joachin Sanchez de Toca, Minister for the Navy, who was so good as to afford me every facility I wished for research among the archives of the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty at Madrid; the readiness with which His Excellency granted me this permission was most gratifying and useful.

To Mr and Mrs Bernhard Whishaw, of Seville, I am indebted for having kindly paved the way for me at the *Archivo General de Indias* when I was about to revisit the Andalusian capital; and during a residence there of several

[1] Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

weeks my creature comforts were watched over, and my spare moments made the more agreeable, by the hospitality and sustained attention I received from that gentleman and his gifted wife.

My gratitude would seem ill-proportioned did I not also seize this opportunity to acknowledge the timely and able assistance afforded me by Sister May C. Anderson, R.R.C., who, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty—and without laying aside her onerous and responsible professional duties—came generously to the rescue. By much patient typewriting, and wearisome proof-reading, during weeks and months of trouble caused me by ailing eyesight, she has contributed materially to abridge delays which, but for her charitable help, would have become more than provoking.

B. G. C.

EXTRACT

FROM THE OFFICIAL LOG[1] OF THE VOYAGE OF

MYNHEER JACOB ROGGEVEEN,

IN THE SHIPS DEN AREND, THIENHOVEN
AND DE AFRIKAANSCHE GALEY,
IN 1721—2,

in so far as it relates
to the discovery
of
EASTER ISLAND.

Translated by the Editor.

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[1] DAGVERHAAL der Ontdekkings-Reis van Mr *Jacob Roggeveen* mit de Schepen *DEN AREND*, *THIENHOVEN*, en *DE AFRIKAANSCHE GALEI*, en de Jaren 1721 en 1722.
Te Middelburg, MDCCCXXXVIII.

EXTRACT FROM THE OFFICIAL LOG OF MR JACOB ROGGEVEEN; RELATING TO HIS DISCOVERY OF EASTER ISLAND.

LOG, relating to the voyage to the unknown portion of the World, lying in the South-Sea to the westward of America, done and kept by Mr JACOB ROGGEVEEN, as Commander in Chief of the three Ships *THE AREND*, whose Captain is JAN KOSTER, mounted with 32 pieces of Cannon, manned with 110 Persons, and 120 feet in length: the Ship *THIENHOVEN*, commanded by Cap[n]. CORNELIS BOUMAN, being mounted with 24 pieces of Cannon, 80 Persons, and 100 feet in length: together with the Ship *DE AFRIKAANSCHE GALEY*, having [*sic*] pieces of Cannon, 33 men, and 92 feet long, each one being victualled for 28 months, all equipped and fitted out by the Amsterdam Chamber, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Honourable the Directors of the Netherlands chartered West-India Company, adopted at a Meeting of their Board held at The Hague on the 10th of April, *Anno* 1721.

April.

1. Found ourselves at noon in 26 degrees 56 minutes South latitude, and in the longitude by reckoning of 268 degrees 45 minutes, the course was West, the wind East-

South-East and South-East, with a topgallant-sail breeze, also light airs to calm. The North-Easterly variation was 2 degrees 18 minutes[1].

2. The lat. was 27 degrees 31 minutes by reckoning, the long. 268 degrees 23 minutes, corrected course Sou'-Sou'-West ½ West, distance 10 miles, the wind Southerly and West-Nor'-West, from calm to a reefed-topsail breeze, with showers, and a thick, lowering atmosphere. Made a signal for a consultation with the captains of the ships *THIENHOVEN* and *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, of which the resolution adopted is the following :—

COUNCIL of the Officers of the three Ships sailing in company; holden on board the Ship *AREND*, in the presence of Mr JACOB ROGGEVEEN, President; Captain JAN KOSTER, commanding the Ship *AREND*; Captain CORNELIS BOUMAN, commanding the Ship *THIENHOVEN*, and Captain ROELOF ROSENDAAL, in charge of the Ship *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*.

Thursday, 2 April, 1722.

"The President having pointed out that we have now come about 500 miles to the Westward of Copayapo, situated on the coast of Chile, also that having reached the latitude of 26 degrees 56 minutes South, and yet not come in sight of the unknown Southland (according to existing accounts of it), for the discovery of which our Expedition and Voyage is specially undertaken; moreover, as fortune has not yet favoured us with the aforesaid sight, possibly because it lies farther to the Westward than its

[1] Cook does not quote the variation specifically, but from his Tables of the *Resolution's* courses and positions it appears that he found it 2° 34′ Easterly on the day next but one after leaving the island. The Spaniards found it 2° 30′.

discoverers reckoned; seeing that they must have been as much liable to error as the most experienced and intelligent experts in seamanship, when sailing along a given parallel on a course from East to West, be it North or South of the Line; therefore the President submits this question to the Council as being a thing of utmost importance, namely, whether it be not judged safest to continue on a West course long enough to feel sure that Copayapo lies fully six hundred miles away to the Eastward of our position, in order thus to follow out and exactly fulfil the intention of our Principals (in accordance with the Instructions issued to us, which lay down and limit the Longitude at 600 miles). All the which, being well considered, it is unanimously approved and agreed upon, after the different longitude of each commander was noted and the mean departure worked out, which was found to be 29 degrees 30 minutes, to sail another degree and 30 minutes farther to the Westward, in order thus to give full effect to the Resolution adopted on March the 15th last: and, further, to continue on the same due West course until one shall have sailed a good clear hundred miles farther, as to wholly obey the aforesaid Instructions in all their particulars in accordance with the dictates of right and of our duty. So resolved and determined in the Ship and on the day above stated. (Signed) JACOB ROGGEVEEN, JAN KOSTER, CORNELIS BOUMAN, ROELOF ROSENDAAL."

3. Had lat. 27 degrees 1 minute South by observation, and long. 267 degrees 31 minutes by reckoning, the corrected course was West-Nor'-West, the wind between the Nor'-West and the Sou'-South-East, with reefed topgallant-sail and topsail breezes; fine weather. We saw many kinds of birds. The variation of the compass was 1 degree 46 minutes North-Easterly.

4. Reckoned ourselves to be in lat. 27 degrees 1 minute S., and long. 267 degrees 2 minutes; the course was West, 6½ miles, the wind between Sou'-Sou'-West and East, with light airs and calms, and very fine weather, although the sky was overcast; we were able nevertheless to get two observations of the sun at rising and setting from which we found the variation to be 2 degrees 37 minutes North-Easterly.

5. Our lat. by reckoning was 27 degrees 4 minutes South and the long. 266 degrees 31 minutes, course West ½ South, distance 7 miles, the wind Nor'-Nor'-West to Sou'-West, breeze unsteady, with calms, also thick weather and showers. Saw a turtle, floating weed, and birds. About the 10th glass in the afternoon watch *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, which was sailing ahead of us, lay to to wait for us, making the signal of land in sight; when we came up with her, after four glasses had run out, for the breeze was light, we asked what they had seen. On this we were answered that they had all very distinctly seen a low and flattish island lying away to starboard, about 5½ miles off, to the nor'ard and west-'ard. Hereupon it was deemed well to stand on under easy sail to the end of the first watch, and then to lie to and await the dawn. This being decided, the necessary information was given to Captain BOUMAN, who was astern; and to the land the name of *Padsch Eyland*, because it was discovered by us on Easter Day. There was great rejoicing among the people and every one hoped that this low land might prove to be a foretoken of the coastline of the unknown Southern continent.

6. Had a light breeze out of the South-East, and East-South-East, *Padsch Eyland* lying West by North 8 to 9 miles from us. Laid our course between West by South and North-West, in order to run under the lee of the Island, and so avoid the dangers of a lee shore. At noon the corrected course was West, distance 10 miles, lat. by

reckoning 27 degrees 4 minutes South, and long. 265 degrees 42 minutes. In the ninth glass of the afternoon we saw smoke rising in several places from which we concluded that there were people dwelling on the same. We therefore thought it would be well to consider with the Captains of the other ships whether it were not needful to undertake an expedition ashore, to the end that we might gain a fitting knowledge of the interior of the country. On this, it was decided that both the shallops of the Ships *AREND* and *THIENHOVEN*, well manned and armed, should proceed inshore, and find out a convenient place for landing a party from the boats, and also to take soundings. This decision being come to, we stood off and on for the night with our Ships. Which Resolution is as follows:—

COUNCIL of the Commanders of the three Ships sailing in company held on board the *AREND*, in the presence of the undersigned.

Monday the 6th of April, 1722.

"The President submitting that we had now arrived within a distance of some two miles of the *Sandy Island*, the which lies in an Easterly direction from the stretch of coast (as yet out of sight) which it is one of the objects of this Expedition to discover, and as we have seen smoke ascending in several places, from which it may reasonably be concluded that the aforementioned Island, although it may be shown to be sandy and barren, has nevertheless human inhabitants; now, therefore the President moves that it would be culpable to proceed in a careless and negligent manner, and that we should stand off and on for to-night with our ships, and that on the arrival of daylight we send close in to the land two well manned shallops,

properly armed (that we may be in a state of defence in case of any hostile meeting), and show all friendliness towards the inhabitants, endeavouring to see and inquire what they wear or make use of either as ornaments or for other purposes, also whether any refreshments in the way of green stuff, fruit, or beasts can be procured by barter. Which motion having been discussed, the same is by common assent approved and adopted: and it is farther decided that both the shallops of the Ships *AREND* and *THIENHOVEN*, shall proceed at daybreak, and that *THE AFRICAN GALLEY* should follow as close to the land as possible and prudent, covering and defending the said shallops (should need arise). Resolved and attested in the said Ship and on the day above mentioned. (Signed): JACOB ROGGEVEEN, JAN KOSTER, CORNELIS BOUMAN, ROELOF ROSENDAAL."

7. The weather was very variable, with thunder, sheet lightning and showers. The wind unsteady from the North West, and occasional calms, so that our shore expedition could not be undertaken with any prospect of success. During the forenoon Captain BOUMAN brought an Easter Islander on board, together with his craft, in which he had come off close to the Ship from the land; he was quite nude, without the slightest covering for that which modesty shrinks from revealing. This hapless creature seemed to be very glad to behold us, and showed the greatest wonder at the build of our Ship. He took special notice of the tautness of our spars, the stoutness of our rigging and running gear, the sails, the guns—which he felt all over with minute attention—and with everything else that he saw; especially when the image of his own features was displayed before him in a mirror, seeing the which, he started suddenly back and then looked towards

the back of the glass, apparently in the expectation of discovering there the cause of the apparition.

After we had sufficiently beguiled ourselves with him, and he with us, we started him off again in his canoe towards the shore, having presented him with two strings of blue beads[1] round his neck, a small mirror, a pair of scissors, and other like trifles, which seemed to have a special attraction for him.

But when we had approached within a short distance of the land we saw distinctly that the account of the *Sandy* and *Low* Island (so described by Captain *William Dampier*, in accordance with the statement and testimony of Captain *Davis*, and of the narrator *Lionel Wafer*, whose log of this and other discoveries the aforesaid *Dampier* has made known through the press, and inserted as a prominent feature in his book, which comprises all his own travels and voyages) was not in the least in conformity with our find; and that neither could it be the land which the aforementioned discoverers declare to be visible 14 to 16 miles beyond it and stretching away out of sight, being a range of high land, which the said *Dampier* conjectured might be the extremity of the unknown Southland. That this Easter Island can not be the *Sandy* Island is clear, from the fact that the sandy one is small, and low; whereas *Easter Island*, on the contrary, extends some 15 or 16 miles in circuit, and has at its Eastern and Western points—which lie about five miles from each other—two high hills sloping gradually down, with three or four other smaller hills about their bases which rise above the plain, so that this land is of moderate elevation, and raised above the force of the sea.

The reason why, at first, when at a farther distance off, we had regarded the said Easter Island as being of a sandy

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[1] The original has *coraelen*, meaning beads.

nature is that we mistook the parched-up grass, and hay or other scorched and charred brushwood for a soil of that arid nature, because from its outward appearance it suggested no other idea than that of an extraordinarily sparse and meagre vegetation; and the discoverers had consequently bestowed upon it the term *sandy*.

It may therefore be concluded, in the light of the foregoing explanation, that this *Easter Island* now discovered will turn out to be some other land lying further to the Eastward than that which is one of the objectives of our Expedition: or else, the discoverers must stand convicted of a whole bundle of lies in their reports, told by word of mouth as well as in writing.

8. We had the wind South, South by East, and Sou'-Sou'-West, with a reefed topsail breeze, unsteady. After breakfast had been served, our shallop was well manned and armed, and likewise the shallop of the Ship *THIENHOVEN*, now close in with the land; and having received their orders, they reported that the inhabitants there were very finely clad in some stuffs of all kinds of colours, and that they made many signs that we should come on shore, but as our orders were not to do so, if the Indians should be present in large numbers, that was not permitted. Furthermore, some thought they had seen the natives to have plates of silver in their ears, and mother-of-pearl shells as ornaments about their necks. By sundown, having come into the roadstead, between the Ships *THIENHOVEN* and *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, which had already brought to in readiness for us, we let go our anchor in 22 fathoms, coral bottom, at the distance of a quarter of a mile[1] from the beach; the Eastern point of the Island bearing East by South, and the West point West-Nor'-West from us.

[1] About six furlongs.

9. A great many canoes came off to the ships: these people showed us at that time their great cupidity for every thing they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil[1]; for they are surpassingly good swimmers, as would seem from the great numbers of them who came swimming off from the shore to the ships. There was also an Easter Islander who climbed in through the cabin window of *THE AFRICAN GALLEY*, from his canoe, and seeing on the table, a cloth with which it was covered, and deeming it to be a good prize, he made his escape with it there and then; so that one must take special heed to keep close watch over everything. Furthermore, a shore party of 134 men was organised to make investigations for the purpose of reporting upon our mission.

10. In the morning we proceeded with three boats and two shallops, manned by 134 persons, all armed with musket, pistols, and cutlass; on reaching the shore the boats and shallops kept close together in order to lay down their grapnels, leaving twenty men in them, armed as above, to take care of them; *THE AFRICAN GALLEY'S* boat, was mounted besides with two carronades in the bows. Having seen to all these arrangements, we proceeded in open order, but keeping well together, and clambered over the rocks, which are very numerous on the sea margin, as far as the level land or flat, making signs with the hand that the natives, who pressed round us in great numbers, should stand out of our way and make room for us. Having got so far, a *corps de bataille* was formed up of all the seamen of the three ships, the

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[1] The edited Journal here has a footnote to the effect that "the posterity of this generation were not less thievishly disposed than their fathers," and refers to Cook's, De la Pérouse's, and Kotzebue's accounts of their respective experiences with them in this respect.

Commodore, Captains KOSTER, BOUMAN and ROSENDAAL leading, each at the head of his own crew. This column, three ranks in width, occupying a position to the rear of the others, was covered by one half the soldiers under the command of Lieutenant NICOLAAS THONNAR, constituting the right wing; and the left, made up of the other half of the military, was led by Mr MARTINUS KEERENS, Ensign. After thus disposing our forces we marched forward a little, to make room for some of our people who were behind, that they might fall in with the ranks, who were accordingly halted to allow the hindmost to come up, when, quite unexpectedly and to our great astonishment, four or five shots were heard in our rear, together with a vigorous shout of "*'t is tyd, 't is tyd, geeft vuur*," ["It's time, it's time, fire!"]. On this, as in a moment, more than thirty shots were fired, and the Indians, being thereby amazed and scared, took to flight, leaving 10 or 12 dead, besides the wounded. The leaders of the party, standing in front, prevented those in advance from firing on the fugitives; demanding, moreover, who had given the order to shoot, and what had induced him to do so? After a little while the assistant pilot of the ship *THIENHOVEN* came up to me saying, that he, with six other men, was the hindmost of the party; that, on one of the natives laying hold of the muzzle of his piece to snatch it from him, he struck him a blow; and, further, that another Indian had attempted to strip the jacket off one of the seamen, and that some of the natives seeing our men resist, picked up stones, using threatening gestures as if to pelt us with them, whereby, from all appearance, the firing on the part of my small troop was brought about, although he declared that until then he had given no orders of the least kind. This was, however, no time for hearing other versions of the affair, and that much had to be deferred till a better opportunity. After the astonishment and terror of the natives were

somewhat allayed, on their seeing that our hostilities were not persisted in, they were given to know by signs that the victims had threatened to make an assault upon us by stone-throwing, and the inhabitants, who had been just in front of us all the time, approached our leaders again; in particular one who seemed to be in authority over the other headmen, for, giving a general direction that everything they had should be fetched and laid before us, including fruit, root crops, and poultry, the order was promptly obeyed with reverence and bowing by those round about, as the event proved; for in a little while they brought a great abundance of sugar-cane, fowls, yams[1], and bananas; but we gave them to understand through signs that we desired nothing, excepting only the fowls, which were about sixty in number, and thirty bunches of bananas, for which we paid them ample value in striped linen, with which they appeared to be well pleased and satisfied. By the time we had fully investigated things, and especially their cloth stuffs and the dyes of them, and also the supposed silver plates and mother-of-pearl, it was found that they were made up of pieces patched together; that is, that the wraps worn on their bodies were composed of some field-product, sewn three or four ply in thickness, yet neat and trim, which material (as called in the West Indies) is a sort of *Piet*: further, that the soil of the country (as we saw in several places) was red, and yellowish, into the which when mixed with water they dip their garments and afterwards let them dry, which shows that their dye is not fast, for when felt about and handled one finds the colour come off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones. The plates imagined to be of silver were made out of the root of some

[1] *Ubaswortelen*, a coined hybrid word; from the Malay *ubi*, a yam, and the Dutch *wortel*, a root.

vegetable,—as one might say in Holland, of good stout parsnips or carrots. This ear-ornament is roundish, or oval, having a diameter of about two inches[1] measured through the widest section, and one and a half inches across the lesser; being three inches, at a guess, in length. To understand how these supposed silver plates are fixed in the ears as ornaments one must know that the lobes of these people's ears are stretched, from their youth up; and their centre is slit open, in such wise that the lesser rim of the plug, being stuck through the opening in the lobe, is then pushed on towards the thicker end, which accordingly faces towards the front, and completely stuffs the opening[2]. Furthermore, the mother-of-pearl which was seen as a neck pendant is a flat shell of the same tint as the inner lip of

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[1] The term used by Roggeveen is *duymen*; literally thumbs or thumb's breadths, but the common Dutch expression when inches are meant, of which eleven go to the foot.

[2] For Behrens' account, see Appendix I. He states "Their ears were so long that they hung down as far as to the shoulders. Some wore white ornaments in the lobes as a special embellishment."

In M. de la Pérouse's narrative there is no mention of the ear slits, nor of the ear ornaments; nor even any general description of the natives. But his visit, which took place in 1786, only extended over a few hours; and his vessels were at anchor there only one night. His portrayal of the Easter Islanders is usually accounted the best; but the travelled and intelligent reader will find it difficult to concede this compliment, especially if he have read the younger Forster's description, and will incline to consider La Pérouse's account as much overrated in worth as it is charming in expression. Cook's and Forster's remarks on the ear ornaments are here given:—

"Both men and women have very large holes, or rather slits, in their ears, extending to near three inches in length. They sometimes turn this slit over the upper part, and then the ear looks as if the flap was cut off. The chief ear ornaments are the white down of feathers, and rings, which they wear in the inside of the hole, made of some elastic substance, rolled up like a watch-spring. I judged this was to keep the ear at its utmost extension. I do not remember seeing them wear any other ornaments, excepting amulets made of bone or shells." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

"Their ears were remarkable for the great length of the lap, which frequently hung on the shoulder, and was pierced with so large a hole, that the extremity could be tucked up through it. In order to bring it to this size they wore a leaf of a sugar cane, which is very elastic, rolled up in it like a scroll; by which means it was always on the stretch." Forster, George, Bibl. no. 21.

GORGET FROM EASTER ISLAND,
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by permission of the Royal Anthropological Institute)

our oysters. When these Indians go about any job which might set their ear-plugs waggling, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance[1]. These people have well proportioned limbs, with large and strong muscles; they are big in stature, and their natural hue is not black, but pale yellow or sallowish, as we saw in the case of many of the lads, either because they had not painted[2] their bodies with dark blue, or because they were of superior rank and had consequently no need to labour in the field. These people have also snow-white teeth, with which they are exceptionally well provided, even the old and hoary, as was evidenced by the cracking of a large and hard nut, whose shell was thicker and more resisting than our peach stones. The hair of their heads, and the beards of most of them, were short, although others wore it long, and hanging down the back, or plaited and coiled on the top of the head in a tress, like the Chinese at *Batavia*, which is there termed *condé*. What the form of worship of these people comprises we were not able to gather any full knowledge of, owing to the shortness of our stay among them; we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and, thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them. At first, these stone figures caused us to be filled with wonder, for we could not understand how it was possible that people who are destitute of heavy or thick timber, and also of stout cordage, out of which to construct gear, had been able to erect them; nevertheless some of these statues were

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[1] This habit is mentioned by Cook, and by Forster: see the last preceding footnote.

[2] Meaning tattooed, doubtless.

a good 30 feet in height and broad in proportion. This perplexity ceased, however, with the discovery, on removing a piece of the stone, that they were formed out of clay or some kind of rich earth, and that small smooth flints had been stuck over afterwards, which are fitted very closely and neatly to each other, so as to make up the semblance of a human figure[1]. Moreover, one saw reaching downwards from the shoulders a slight elevation or prominence which represented the arms, for all the statues seem to convey the idea that they were hung about with a long robe from the neck right down to the soles of the feet. They have on the head a basket heaped up with flints painted white deposited in it[2]. It was incomprehensible to us how these people cook their food, for no one was able to perceive or find that they had any earthen pots, pans, or vessels. The only thing which appeared to us was that they scrape holes in the ground with their hands, and lay large and small flint pebbles in them (for we saw no other kinds of stone): then, having got dried litter from the fields and laid over the pebbles, they set fire to it and in a little time brought us a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot. Though they were thanked by means of signs, we had quite enough business in hand to look after our people so as to keep order among them, and prevent any affront being offered; and also that in the event of any struggle occurring they should not allow themselves to be taken by surprise, for although these people showed us every sign of friendship,

[1] "Some of the gentlemen who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion, that the stone of which they were made was different to any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] Roggeveen's description of the statues seems to show that he never got close to one of them, but saw them only from a distance of some hundreds of yards. His 'basket' was doubtless one of the coronoid cylinders of tufaceous rock by which most of the figures were surmounted.

yet the experience of others has taught us that one may not put too much trust in any Indians, as recounted in the Journal of the *Nassau Fleet*, which lost seventeen men on one occasion through the willingness of the natives of *Terra de Feu* to help being mistaken for a proof that they were well disposed.

We then, being baulked from making any sufficiently detailed inquiry, concluded that they must have large hollow flint-stones under the soil, which hold water when they set about boiling anything, and that afterwards they arch it over with stones on which to light the fire, and thus boil their food by means of the heat thrown downwards, until tender. It is also very remarkable that we saw no more than two or three old women, those were wearing a garment reaching from the waist down to below their knees, and another slung on the shoulders: yet so that the skin covering their pendant breasts was bare. But young women and lasses did not come forward amongst the crowd, so that one must believe the jealousy of the men had moved them to hide them away in some distant place in the island[1]. Their houses or huts are without any ornamentation, and have a length of fifty feet and a width of fifteen; the height being nine feet, as it appeared by guess[2]. The construction of their walls, as we saw in the framework of a new building, is begun with stakes which are stuck into the ground and secured straight upright, across which other long strips of wood which I may call laths are lashed, to the height of four or five, thus completing the framework

[1] "They either have but few females among them, or many were restrained from making their appearance, during our stay," says Cook, "for though we saw nothing to induce us to believe the men were of a jealous disposition, or the women afraid to appear in public, something of this kind was probably the case." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] "The largest house I saw was about sixty feet long, eight or nine feet high in the middle, and three or four at each end, its breadth at these parts was nearly equal to its height." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

of the building. Then the interstices, which are all of oblong shape, are closed up and covered over with a sort of rush or long grass, which they put on very thickly, layer upon layer, and fasten on the inner side with lashings (the which they know how to make from a certain field product called *Piet*, very neatly and skilfully, and is in no way inferior to our own thin cord); so that they are always as well shut in against wind and rain as those who live beneath thatched roofs in Holland.

These dwellings have no more than one entrance way, which is so low that they pass in creeping on their knees, being round above, as a vault or archway[1]; the roof is also of the same form. All the chattels we saw before us (for these long huts admit no daylight except through the one entrance-way, and are destitute of windows and closely shut in all round) were mats spread on the floor, and a large flint stone which many of them use for a pillow. Furthermore they had round about their dwellings certain big blocks of hewn stone, three or four feet in breadth, and fitted together in a singularly neat and even manner[2]; and, according to our judgment, these serve them for a stoop[3] on which to sit and chat during the cool of the evening.

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[1] "The door-way is in the middle of one side, formed like a porch and so low and narrow as just to admit a man to enter upon all fours." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] "They are built, or ratherfaced, with hewn stones of a very large size; and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly close and the stones morticed and tenanted one into another, in a very artful manner." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

"A remarkable circumstance was the junction of these stones, which were laid after the most excellent rules of art, fitting in such a manner as to make a durable piece of architecture." Forster, G., Bibl. no. 21.

[3] The word in the original is *stoep*. There is no synonymous expression in English, though 'porch,' 'threshold,' or 'piazza' each corresponds in a way. In the United States of America, and in the South African colonies, the Dutch term has been adopted; and is now written 'stoop.' It means the paved space adjoining the front door of a house, where on fine evenings the inmates are wont to sit in chairs or on benches.

It only remains to say, in concluding the subject of these dwelling-huts, that we did not see more than six or seven of them at the place where we landed, from which it may clearly be inferred that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building; but if one should therefore conclude that the women are held in common among them, one must naturally expect depravity and bickering to ensue.

Finally, as to their seagoing craft, they are of poor and flimsy construction; for their canoes are fitted together of a number of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above-mentioned vegetable product *Piet.* But as they lack the knowledge, and especially the material, for caulking the great number of seams of their canoes, and making them tight, they consequently leak a great deal; on account of which they are necessitated to spend half their time in baling. Their canoes are about ten feet long, not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead.

It was now deemed advisable to go to the other side of the Island, whereto the King or Head Chief invited us, as being the principal place of their plantations and fruit-trees, for all the things they brought to us of that kind were fetched from that quarter,—inasmuch as the Northerly wind which began to blow made our anchorage a leeshore: the more so because we had not many people on board the Ships, who could get help from us if necessary in the event of the wind waxing strong; moreover, the boats and shallops being filled to the utmost with men, these would in such a case not have been able to get back on board, either by reason of the heavy sea on the beach or of its becoming

impossible for them to row. Therefore it was deemed well to pull off at once in good order, the which was presently put into practice. Having arrived on board we resolved to sail another hundred miles farther to the Westward so that by thus doing we should punctually follow our Instructions and the Resolution adopted in reference to them, in all details; although, before doing so, we should make a short Cruise away down Eastwards, to see whether we could discover the *Low and Sandy* Island; for, in the event of our finding it, the first portion of our cruise in the South Sea would necessarily terminate, as having accomplished its purpose: the contents of which Resolution are:—

COUNCIL of the Commanders of the three Ships sailing in company, held on board the Ship *AREND*, when the Shore Expedition had been despatched and accomplished with three boats and two shallops, well armed and manned.

Friday the 10th of April[1], 1722.

"The President having called together the Commanders of this Expedition, to the end that each one should submit his ideas and opinions concerning the newly found Island, namely, whether in view of this discovery the Resolution considered and adopted by this Council on the 2nd inst. should be punctually observed and fulfilled: or whether, on the contrary, we should proceed on our course another hundred miles Westwards, inasmuch as this land discovered[2] (being called by us *Paásch Eyland*, because it

[1] By a curious coincidence, La Pérouse's visit was also made on the 10th of April: sixty-four years later.

[2] The parenthesis is misplaced in the Dutch Journal, as edited, where it occurs before the word *omdat*, 'inasmuch.' It should obviously be after the word 'discovered' as now translated.

was sighted and discovered on Easter Day) can not be said to be a *small, low*, and *sandy* Island, covering as it does an extent of sixteen Dutch miles in circuit and being fairly high land[1], the which was lying 8 or 9 miles away from us when *THE AFRICAN GALLEY* made the signal of land in sight. As this distance may with safety be deemed correct, seeing that it took us the whole of the following day, with a fresh breeze blowing, to get within a couple of miles or so by eventide. Nor can the aforementioned land be termed *sandy*, because we found it not only not sandy but on the contrary exceedingly fruitful, producing bananas, potatoes, sugar-cane of remarkable thickness, and many other kinds of the fruits of the earth; although destitute of large trees and domestic animals, except poultry. This place, as far as its rich soil and good climate are concerned, is such that it might be made into an earthly Paradise, if it were properly worked and cultivated; which is now only done in so far as the Inhabitants are obliged to for the maintenance of life. And furthermore, it is quite improper to give this discovery the name of a *range of high land*; if one supposes that by ill luck we sailed by the *Low and Sandy* Island without seeing it, the which is not probable, as our course was directed in such wise that we should inevitably have sighted it if so be that this *Easter Island* is the land which is described as being a *range of high land.* Therefore one may conclude with good reason that this *Easter Island* is some other land than any we are seeking, and that one part of our voyage is made good; since it fails to present those characteristics which belong to the land we hope to meet with. The President submits all the above remarks to this Council for consideration, in order to avail himself of its opinions as may be proper.

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[1] The highest peak of Easter Island attains 1767 feet. Two others are 1327 and 1323 feet, respectively, above the sea. Cook says, "The hills are of such an height as to be seen fifteen or sixteen leagues."

"Whereupon, all these points being attentively noted and maturely weighed, it is unanimously resolved that, indisputably, the above-mentioned *Easter Island* does not in the least conform to the description of a *range of high land,* being of only moderate elevation; that, also, it is absolutely impossible that the finer metals should occur here, as we learned by experience from ocular inspection, that the Inhabitants are without any such, and employ as coverings and ornaments only certain produce of vegetable origin; and that they understand sewing these handsomely and neatly together three or four ply in thickness for the sake of warmth and strength. Furthermore that they plait together as ornaments some feathers of the domestic fowl (of which last very few were seen, however) so as to form a circlet worn on the head, and the painting of their faces, and other parts of the body as well, with regular and well proportioned designs after such a manner that one side of the body is in conformity with the other, also some flat shells worn as neck ornaments, and the slit in the ear-lobes plugged with some kind of root (shaped like our parsnips) for adorning the ears. Further, that we have not seen the *small, low,* and *sandy* Island which must be the outlier and true sign of that land we are in search of; therefore it is by unanimous assent agreed upon and declared that we continue the course West along the parallel of 27 degrees of South latitude until we shall have sailed another hundred miles, and on arrival there, we are to be guided by circumstances and to take such action as may then be deemed proper.

"So resolved in the Ship and on the day above stated. (Signed) JACOB ROGGEVEEN, JAN KOSTER, CORNELIS BOUMAN, ROELOF ROSENDAAL."

This resolution being carried and signed, Captain JAN KOSTER suggested, by way of discussion, that it should be

a very easy and simple matter to ascertain whether the above-mentioned *Easter Island* is really the land we are aiming after and towards which we have directed our course, if we were now to make only a short Cruise by sailing 12 miles Eastwards, and that the Ships should keep two miles apart from each other, but at the same time resume close company if it should happen that a *low* and *sandy* Island should be sighted, which would establish the truth that the aforesaid *Easter Island* is the land we have been minded to discover. And in case we get no view of the said *Sandy* Island that then also the before-named *Easter Island* must of necessity be some other land (although lying right in our track) than that towards which our Expedition is directed. Furthermore, that if the *Sandy* Island should be discovered, a Northerly course should be shaped in order to get into the steadier and stronger trade-wind, for the furthering of the second *item* in our Voyage: since the first would fulfil itself, and thereby terminate, on our meeting with the *Sandy* Island before mentioned. All the which being considered, was approved and adopted by common assent.

So resolved and determined in the Ship and on the day of the foregoing Resolution. (Signed) JACOB ROGGEVEEN, JAN KOSTER, CORNELIS BOUMAN, ROELOF ROSENDAAL.

11. The wind this day was Nor'-Nor'-West and Nor'-West, with a topsail-breeze and rough sea. We laid out the best bower, and sent down the fore and main yards. About the fourth glass of the first watch the Ship *THIENHOVEN'S* working cable parted; and, being hailed to know if she wanted assistance, they answered 'No.'

12. The working cable of *THE AFRICAN GALLEY* carried away about dawn, through which misfortune both

Ships got so much nearer the beach before they were brought up by another anchor, that if they had then dragged, or the cable had parted a second time, they would inevitably have suffered shipwreck: for, as there was not time enough to sheet their sails home by the wind, the Ship or both Ships would have foundered against the rocks, by reason of the strength of the wind and the heavy rollers setting shorewards. The danger of the other ships caused us to decide to get a spring on our own cable, so as to be able to fill our sails in case of emergency, and be ready to claw off the lee shore and thus endeavour to save the ship and ourselves: to which end we swayed our yards aloft again so as to be all ready to put to sea whenever needs should demand. But the wind shifting with a rain squall from the Nor'-West to West, saved us from this extreme measure. We all weighed our anchors, therefore, and made sail together; with the setting of the sun, the East point of the Island bearing Sou'-West by South, and the West point Sou'-West by West, six miles distant.

13. We were in the latitude by observation 27 degrees 7 minutes South, and the longitude 265 degrees 56 minutes by reckoning; the corrected course was South-East, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the wind between Nor'-Nor'-West and South by East, with unsteady airs and rain squalls. After *Easter Island* bore West by North from us, we steered due East, the weather being very bright and clear all the while. When we had left the land so far behind that it could scarcely be made out from the mast-head, we sailed on another three miles farther notwithstanding, in order to be quite certain of covering the whole distance between the *Sandy* Island and *Easter Island*; but, not sighting the same, we decided to wear ship in order to proceed on our voyage to the Westward. We therefore signalled our consorts to alter their course, and to steer West, expressing

our hope that a good discovery of a high and wide-stretching tract of land should result after a little while.

[*End of the Extract from Roggeveen's Journal.*]

NOTE.

(*By the Editor.*)

The explorers' wish was destined to be disappointed; and the subsequent pages of the Journal contain nothing pertinent to the present subject. No land was sighted on the course due West, along the parallel of Easter Island; and, on the 21st of April, Roggeveen called another meeting of his officers, including this time in their deliberations the Chief Pilots. He concluded that Easter Island must be identical with the so-called Southern Continent of Davis, Wafer, and Dampier, and that the "range of high land" they were now in search of must be visionary. In finally reviewing the *pros* and *cons* of their statements the phlegmatic Dutchman slyly declares that "nothing more remains to be said than that these three (who were Englishmen) must have been rovers from truth, as well as rovers after the goods of the Spaniards."

Such is the official account written by Mr Jacob Roggeveen, the Commodore of his expedition—an account which, little known as it appears to be even at the present day, should long since have relegated the clap-trap story of the *Tweejarige Reize* to the realms of legend, and have eclipsed the claims of the more sober-minded but not wholly authentic narrative of Sergeant-Major Carl Friederich Behrens. We may now judge Roggeveen in a new and true light; and must commend his conduct of the expedition as careful and conscientious, instead of loading him, as has been done in the past, with charges of

inhumanity and ruthlessness. Honour is due to him as the first European to visit and explore Easter Island; and as having succeeded in that object with fewer *data* available than had many of his successors, who nevertheless failed in the quest.

B. G. C.

JOURNALS,
ROYAL COMMANDS,
MINUTES, AND DESPATCHES,

(WITH ENCLOSURES)

RELATING TO THE VOYAGE OF THE
SHIP OF THE LINE SAN LORENZO[1]
AND HER CONSORT
THE FRIGATE SANTA ROSALIA,

in the years 1770—1,
in search of
EASTER ISLAND.

Transcribed and translated by the Editor, from the official MS. records preserved in the General Collection of the Archives of the Indies, at Sevilla, the Hydrographic Office of the Ministry of the Navy, and the library of the Royal Academy of History, at Madrid.

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[1] Under the command of Don Felipe Gonzalez y Haedo, a Captain in the Royal Navy of Spain, instructed by the Viceroy of Peru in obedience to the King's Orders.

DESPATCH.

N° 396.

[From the Viceroy of Peru, to
the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,

In my despatch n° 363, of the 10th of October 1770, I acquainted Your Excellency with the arrangements to which effect was on that date given, in obedience to a Royal Command of the 26th of October 1769[1], by the sailing of the ship of war *S^n^ Lorenzo* and H.M. frigate the *S^ta^ Rosalia* from the port of The Callao, to search for the Island of *David*, and to examine others in the South Sea and off the coasts of Chiloe whereat the English might have established themselves. My communication was accompanied by copies of the instructions and documents with which I furnished the commanding officers for their guidance during the commission. Being attended by good fortune they on the 15th of November sighted the island in question, which differs only slightly in its position from that generally laid down on the charts. A party being soon landed, they explored some portion of the interior, and also rowed round it, examining its harbours, coves, and bays, and taking bearings for a running survey. They took possession of it in the name of his Majesty, whose Royal appellation was bestowed upon it, in conformity with the instructions.

Reporting, with enclosures, that the island called *David's*, in the South Sea, has been found by the two ships of war acting under his instructions; reporting also the examination which has been made of the archipelago of Chiloe and its coastline, and stating that he was awaiting accounts of the most recent surveys executed in obedience to the Royal despatch cited.

[1] Not found at the *Archivo*.

The information gained as to its inhabitants, their character, ceremonies, customs, and religion, is somewhat restricted by reason of the language being strange to our people, and in consequence of their stay being limited to a few days only. The accounts merely state that the islanders appear to be mild in bearing, and well disposed towards visitors, before whom they behaved with great good-will. Neither from their hue nor from their features was it possible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to what race their origin is traceable from; and it seems merely that they lead a simple existence very similar to that which prevailed in the most primitive states of the world, possessing their goods, and the fruits they cultivate, in common. The soil, which is fertile enough, is suitable for this; and provides them with such necessaries of life as might be expected to flourish in the latitude of 27° 15′ and longitude 264° 36′ according to the observation taken on the 16th of November. Nor is it possible to form any exact opinion of the number of the inhabitants, nor whether they recognise any chief authority, nor as to other matters connected with their history; our people not having penetrated to the inner recesses of the island, being apparently impressed with the importance of using despatch, to the end that the commission might be brought to a close in proper season. In pursuance of this design, the two vessels left the island on the 21st of the said month of November, shaping a course for the harbour of S^{n} Carlos in the Province of Chiloe, with the object of procuring coastal pilots for continuing their visit to that coast as far as the prescribed limit to the southward. On arrival there, however, they learned the situation of matters in connection with the reconnoitring of those coasts as carried out by the then Governor, D^{n} Carlos Berenguer, acting under instructions from me; and they therefore changed their plans and destination, in accordance with a resolution

agreed upon by a general Council of War which they held for the purpose. Taking advantage of the sailing of a small schooner for the port of La Concepcion in Chile, the officer commanding the *S^n^ Lorenzo*, Don Felipe Gonzalez, forwarded on to me the log, charts, and documents referred to in the letter of the 3rd of January, of which I enclose a copy, together with the affidavits and papers to which it has reference. It is from these, and others which came to hand by the same opportunity, that the information which I have put together in the form of a summary regarding the island has been taken. I received by the same vessel a despatch from the before mentioned Governor Berenguer, accompanied by the log drawn up by D^n^ Josef Ruis of his examination of the archipelago and harbours of the coast of Chiloe, of which also I enclose a copy[1].

By the measures thus taken not only is the non-existence of any English in those parts placed beyond a doubt, but the iron-bound nature of the coast has been shown to be such as to afford no inducement to strangers to occupy it. Lastly, the noted harbour of *Inche* or *Inchin* has no other settlement than that I mentioned in the 18th paragraph of the Instructions sent with my despatch of the 10th of October; so that I only await now any information which the said two vessels may furnish on their return with regard to new lands or islands in the intervening tract, which it is suspected the English may have selected in preference—if they have gained a footing anywhere at all—by reason of the milder climate one may suppose to prevail in about 30° of latitude S.

From this it follows that such measures as may appear most suitable should be taken for protecting these coasts against aggression from so strategic a vantage point[2], since, computing the course from this port of The Callao to the

[1] Not printed here.

[2] *Tan ominoso padrastro.*

island of *S^n Carlos*, or *David*, at a little more or less than twenty days' sail for difference of longitude, and six or seven days' for southing, we should find ourselves exposed to a constant menace[1] if once a foreign enemy of whatsoever nation should gain effective possession, and establish themselves there, where they would have the advantage of meeting with a native race upon the spot, who, when civilised, could supply the places of any Europeans who might be lacking. For these reasons I consider it imperative that we should forestall them by taking possession and effectively occupying the island, either by fortifying it, or by removing the native population to this country and forming them into colonies or village settlements, as might be determined by statute.

On account of all of which it is my desire that Your Excellency may acquaint me with whatever decision shall prove most in conformity with His Majesty's pleasure in this matter, in order that I may render satisfaction, and merit that approval to which I aspire.

May Our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years of life. Lima, the 5th of February, 1771.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your Excellency's most faithful servant kisses your hand.

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor,

Brother Don Julian de Arriaga, Knight of Justice of the Order of St John of Malta.

ENCLOSURES. Despatch from Don Felipe Gonzalez, commanding the ship of war *S^n Lorenzo*, and documents accompanying the same.

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[1] *Se dividia en continuo fatal amago.*

[Enclosure to Despatch nº 396.]

REPORT OF ARRIVAL AT SAN CARLOS DE CHILOE.

[From Captain Dⁿ Felipe Gonzalez, to Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga, Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,—I take the opportunity afforded by the sailing of a trading schooner for the port of La Concepcion in Chile of being able to advise Your Excellency of the occurrences during my commission to this date, which period has been productive of the happy result that I have met with the island commonly called David's, although it is badly placed on the French and Dutch charts. I have examined its entire outline with the ship's boats, and explored the interior with an armed party who got as far as its centre; and have prepared a plan after both methods, which I am forwarding to Your Excellency with the log, and [the report of proceedings of] two Councils of War which I deemed it necessary to hold, for the reasons expressed therein.

In furtherance of which I came into port, and continued here awaiting such [intelligence] as might be brought in by two piraguas despatched by the Governor to examine Inchin as far as the point of Tres Montes. These having arrived on the 30th of this [month] with information to the effect that there is no harbour there, nor any foreign settlement whatsoever, nor any place thereabouts or in the

neighbourhood where one could possibly be formed; and there being nothing left for me to do down there, according to the report given by the commander of the piraguas, I am only awaiting an opportunity to put to sea and to follow the parallel of 29° to 30° of latitude as far as 260° longitude, where, in passing, I saw signs of land; and I am persuaded that, being so, it may be some of the islands discovered by Mr Byron: and from thence to make for the port of The Callao and finish my commission.

In reference to these matters I have steadily directed my attention to following the instructions with which I set out on the voyage; nevertheless it became expedient for me to diverge from my course by reason of the considerations stated at the Councils, and bearing in mind that I must use all due discretion and prudence in the event of any difficulty arising, I deemed it proper to abide by the decision of my officers and pilots: it appearing to me that their assistance will be the most proper and suitable in its results for His Majesty's Service, and will consequently prove acceptable to Your Excellency, whose approval it is my desire to merit.

May Our Lord preserve the life of Your Excellency for many years, as is my desire and need:

On board the *S*ⁿ *Lorenzo*, at anchor in the Harbour of Sⁿ Carlos of Chiloe, January 3 of 1771.

Most Excellent Señor,

I kiss Your Excellency's hand,

PHELIPE GONZALEZ.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of Sᵗ John of Malta.

[Documents accompanying the foregoing.]

EXTRACT from the LOG kept by Captain Dⁿ Felipe Gonzalez de Haedo, commanding H.M. ship of the line named "Sⁿ Lorenzo," which, in accordance with Royal Warrants issued by The Most Excellent Señor Dⁿ Manuel de Amat y Junient, Knight of the Order of St John, Member of H.M. Council, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Lieutenant General of the Royal Army, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru and Chile, sailed from the Port of The Callao of Lima, with the Frigate "Stª Rosalia" in company, commanded by Captain Dⁿ Antonio Domonte; each vessel being provisioned for six months.

On the 10th of October 1770, Thursday, at three in the afternoon, we made sail with the wind at S. with fine weather, heading W. At nine at night the N.W. point of the island of San Lorenzo del Callao was visible bearing E. ¼ S.E., distant two leagues, and I took my departure from that position, which is 11° 58′ lat. S. and 298° 24′ long. from the meridian of Tenerife.

From thence until the 15th of the same the weather was fine, and wind varied between S. and S.S.E., and at noon I got an observation of the sun in 17° 22′ lat. and considered my longitude to be 291° 15′.

From noon on the 15th of October until the 19th at the same hour the winds were very variable from E. to S.E., fine, and of unequal strength: at noon on this day I observed the sun in 20° 57′ lat. S., and considered myself to be in long. 288° 24′.

From noon on the 19th of October to the 24th at the said hour the winds were from S.E. to E.N.E. very fitful

and puffy with occasional light squalls, the sea lumpy, the horizon obscured. At noon on this day I observed the sun in 26° 54′ lat. S. and considered myself to be in long. 284°.

From noon on the 24th of October we steered W. ¼S.W. westerly, so that my course when corrected amounted to a trifle south of W. The wind is E.N.E. moderate, with a smooth sea: all our canvas is set. From this day until the 31st of the same [month] the winds have been very variable from W. to E.S.E. and unequal in force, with gusts and light squalls, and a good deal of sea from the S.W. and S.E. At noon on this day I observed the sun in 27° 16′ lat. S., and considered myself in long. 279° 52′.

From the 1st of November we steered W. 5° S. in order to make a course W. corrected; the wind was at E.S.E. moderate, the sea smooth, and we had all sail set.

From this day until the 3rd of the said [month] the winds were from the S.E. and S.S.E., fine. On this day I observed the sun in 27° 9′ lat. S., and I considered myself in long. 277° 37′.

From the 3rd of November at noon until the 8th at the same hour the winds were from S.S.E., S.E., and E.S.E., variable, light, and unequal in force, and the sea smooth. At noon this day I observed the sun in 27° 14′ lat., and considered myself in long. 272° 18′; and the night having set in with the horizon obscure, I lay to all night with the mainyard aback until five o'clock in the morning when, after taking a good look round, I made all sail.

From noon on the 8th of November until the 9th at the same hour the wind was light to moderate from E.N.E., the sea smooth, and the horizon clear. I steered W., a trifle southerly, to make a W. course, corrected, with all sail set; and at sunset I shortened sail so as to cover six or eight leagues, and kept a good look out, so as not to overrun my distance. At midnight I laid the yards aback and so remained until 5 o'clock in the morning, when after taking

a good look round I made all sail on a course W.¼S.W. At noon I observed the sun in 27° 21′ lat. S. and considered myself in long. 270° 40′.

From the 9th to noon on the 10th of the said [month] the wind was fresh from N.E., N., and N.N.W., the sea smooth, and the horizon cloudy. I steered W. a trifle southerly, to make a West course, corrected: from 9 o'clock at night I remained with the yards aback until dawn, when, after taking a good look round, I continued my course under all sail. At noon I observed the sun in 27° 27′ lat. S., and considered myself in long. 269° 10′.

From the 10th until noon on the 11th of the said [month] I steered S.W.¼W. with the wind at N.W., fine, dying away at 4 in the afternoon to a calm. At midnight it came away from the S.E. with squalls, and I resumed my course to the W.¼N.W. At noon this day I observed the sun in 27° 23′ S., and considered myself in long. 267° 53′.

From the 11th of the said [month] to noon of the 12th the breeze continued fresh from the S.E., E.S.E., and E., the sea short and lumpy, coming from the direction of the wind and from the S.W., and clouds gathered above the horizon. I steered W.¼N.W. in order to gain the 27th parallel. At six in the evening I stood away a bit to the S.W., to reconnoitre a loom which appeared to me like land, which however melted away at sundown; and I hove to with the maintopsail aback until dawn, after which, having taken a good look round, I steered W.¼N.W. under all plain sail. At noon I observed the sun in 27° lat. S., and considered myself in long. 266° 45′.

From the 12th until noon of the 13th of the said [month] I steered W. 5° S., to make a West course, corrected; the wind being at E.S.E., fine, with a clear horizon. At nightfall I lay to until dawn, when, after taking a good look round, I made all sail W.¼S.W. a trifle westerly. At noon this day I observed the sun in 27° lat. S., and considered myself in long. 265° 59′.

From the 13th until noon of the 14th of the said [month] I steered W. 5° S., with the wind at E. almost calm, the horizon clear, and sea smooth. At two o'clock in the afternoon it became a dead calm, and so remained until four in the morning, when a breeze sprang up from N.W. ¼N., and keeping a good lookout, I stood to the W. ¼S.W.

At half-past seven in the morning I laid my yards aback and made the signal for the Commander, and officers of the frigate, First Pilot, and Coastal Pilot, to come on board here at ten o'clock. On their arrival I held a Council of War. At noon this day I observed the sun in 27° 14′ lat. S., and considered myself in long. 265° 38′.

From the 14th until noon of the 15th of the said [month] I steered S.W. 5° W. with the wind N.W., fine. At six in the evening I looked out ahead and the appearances led me to furl my sails, remaining hove to under the main course until dawn, when, after scanning the horizon I got under way with a S.E. breeze, steering N.W. At seven in the morning I got sight of an island to which I gave the name of San Carlos, its most northerly part bearing N.W. distant 8 or 10 leagues. At eight in the morning I steered W.N.W. in order to come up with the south end of it. At noon this day I observed the sun in 27° 15′ lat. S., and considered myself in long. 264° 36′; and at the same time I had in view the N.E. point of the island of San Carlos bearing N., the S.W. point bearing W.N.W., 6½°[1], and the middle part of it bearing N.W. ¼N. 3° N., distant at the nearest part four leagues.

From the 15th until noon of the 16th of the said [month] I continued sailing W.N.W., with the wind at S.E.; and finding that the swell was setting me towards the island, I altered the course to N.N.E. and ordered a good lookout to be kept at the mastheads and on the

[1] A compass point is missing here in the MS.

yards; intending to gain a sheltered position on the north side of the island. Having rounded [the N.E. point] at a distance of a mile and a half off I saw that there was a bay to the westward of it, so I ordered the boat to be lowered, and made a signal to the frigate to do the same, and as soon as the boat was in the water I gave orders to Lieutenant don Alberto Olaondo and to the First Coastal Pilot Ensign don Juan Hervé to proceed in her to take soundings in the bay, taking along with them some marines under arms. At four in the afternoon I took a cast of the lead, being one and a half leagues distant from the land, and got no bottom at 120 fathoms. At half-past four I made a board inshore in order to watch for the boat's signal, to see whether I could anchor. At six I stood out again and kept her luffing into the wind to pick up the boat, which on her arrival, I hoisted in. She brought me information that they had found bottom at 35 fathoms, coarse sand, with some gravel, a mile and a half off the land. At sundown I took bearings of the N.E. point at E.S.E. 8° S., the W. point N.W. 5° N., and two hilltops which are opposite the centre of the bay at S. 5° W., magnetic, distance from the said centre of the bay two and a half leagues. During the night I stood off and on under the courses only, and at half-past four in the morning I ordered the pinnace and jolly boat to be lowered, the former being sent in to the anchorage to guide me to it. When she got there I followed in after her; and at eight o'clock I let go the port anchor in 30 fathoms, sand and gravel, furled all the sails, and at nine ran out a stream cable to the W.N.W., distant a good mile from the land.

On Wednesday the 21st November 1770, at two in the afternoon, I got under way and quitted the island of San Carlos, vulgarly called David's, heading W., with a light breeze at E.S.E., in order to place myself in 260° 20′, which

is the longitude in which the Dutch chart lays down another island with the same name of David, in order to be assured as to whether there are two, or one only.

At noon on the 23rd of the same I observed the sun in 27° 9′ lat., and considered myself in long. 260° 51′; and seeing that we had no indications of there being land near, such as birds, floating sea-wrack [*sargazo*], or others, I became persuaded that the two islands are in fact only one, with different longitudes; and bore away to the South in pursuance of my commission.

On Sunday afternoon, the 25th of the said [month], being in lat. 30° S. and long. 261° 36′, we caught sight of some white birds, which made me presume that land might be near: their flight at sundown was towards the South, which was the course I was steering, and for this reason I shortened sail for the night with the object of seeing whether there might be any island in sight in the morning. Every care was taken as soon as the day broke, but nothing was seen; and I proceeded in accordance with the orders in my sailing instructions, bearing the matter in mind with the intention of prosecuting the search farther before finally completing my commission.

On Thursday the 29th of the same at seven in the evening, considering myself in lat. 38° 30′ S. and long. 263°, I headed E., corrected, in compliance with the instructions. The wind is from N.N.W. to W., fresh, with a heavy sea from the S.W. From this position, day and hour, until Thursday the 6th of December, the winds have been from N.N.W. to W.S.W., stronger each day, with continued squalls and stormy weather, and high seas; I have kept my course at E. all the time, lying to under the main course every day after sundown and the special lookout, which is also attended to on resuming our way. On the latter day, considering myself in lat. 38° 35′ S. and long. 279°, I gave the order at six in the evening to alter the course to E.S.E.

magnetic, with the intention of making the port of San Carlos in the island of Chiloe. I did this because while following down the parallel of 38° 30′, all the way from long. 263° to long. 279°, I had seen no land nor even any of those signs, of which there are many, to indicate its proximity, and also in accordance with the instructions given me by the Most Excellent the Viceroy, and the resolution of the council I held for the purpose on the 14th of November.

From the 6th of December until the 9th of the same, the winds have been very light, from the S., S.E., N.E., and N.N.W.; the sea from S.W. lumpy. On this 9th I observed the sun in lat. 39° 41′, and considered myself in long. 282°.

From noon of the 9th of December until the 13th of the same, the winds have been W.N.W. to W.S.W., very strong, with very rough sea. At four o'clock in the morning of this day I hove to to sound, because the colour of the water looked as if it might be shoaling: and we did so with the satisfaction of knowing that we were within 100 leagues of the coast; but we got no bottom at 250 fathoms, and I am sure that there is none in the position quoted, and that all we saw was a discolouration of the water. At twelve this day I observed the sun in lat. 41° 40′ S., and considered myself in long. 296° 35′.

From the 13th of December to the 14th of the same, Friday, the winds were from W. to S.S.W., more moderate, the sea less rough, the horizon very obscure, with a thick haze. The water still retains its shoal like hue. I got no observation to-day and reckon myself in lat. 41° 40′ S., and long. 299° 56′; the entrance into Chiloe bearing E., distant 28 leagues.

From the 14th of December until Saturday the 15th, at noon on that day, I continued under fore-course, topsails, and main topgallant-sail, heading E.: the wind moderate

from W.S.W., a swell from the S.W.; there was a thick mist all day, so that the horizon could not be seen. The water presented by its colour an increasing appearance of shoaling, on account of which, and because I had no hope of its clearing up, I signalled the frigate at four o'clock to come within hail; and I lowered the fore and main topsail yards on to the caps and lay awaiting her; and during the interval we took reefs in the topsails. At six o'clock the frigate came up with us, and I hailed her to know what she reckoned her position as from the entrance to Chiloe. They replied that at noon they believed themselves to be due West from it, 18 leagues distant. I told them to take a cast of the lead, and that I would do the same, which was thereupon done; and we got bottom at 75 fathoms, black sand, somewhat muddy. After this, at six o'clock, we made sail with the fore and main courses and topsails[1], heading N.N.W., wind W. moderate, and at this time the frigate made the signal of land in sight, and we saw it as well about three leagues away to the S.E.

From that time until three in the morning we continued making short boards within sight of the land; and at the said hour we shook the reefs out of the topsails and got all plain sail set, making for the port with a moderate breeze from W.N.W. At ten o'clock we anchored in 12 fathoms, fine black sand, furled all the sails, and lowered the boats into the water: at twelve a kedge was laid out, and I ordered away a boat with an official letter to the governor. I occupied all this day and the 16th in warping up to the mooring ground, where I succeeded in arriving at ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

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[1] *Con las 4 principales.*

ORDERS

issued by Commodore Don Felipe Gonzalez to officers of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia*, on their arrival at Easter Island.

[No. 1.]

Senior Lieutenant don Alberto de Olaondo, and Ensign Dⁿ Juan de Hervé, also navigating officer of the first class, will embark in this ship's boat, together with the frigate's, which is to follow her, in charge of don Buenaventura Moreno, each furnished with marines under arms; they will take soundings of the whole of this bay as far as the shore, reconnoitre it thoroughly and its marks and bearings, record the depth of water in various positions, and the nature of the bottom, in order that the two vessels may let go their anchors where best calculated to ensure the most secure berth for them to lie in.

Sⁿ Lorenzo, Under way: 15th of November 1770. Don Phelipe Gonzalez.

[REPORT.]

Having sounded over the whole of the bay as instructed by the foregoing order I found the bottom best adapted for the ship and the frigate to anchor on to lie N. and S. with it, about a mile and a half off shore, having 36 fathoms water, white sand and small gravel, protected also from the prevailing wind and sea from the S.E. Although there is less [swell] somewhat farther in, the water shoals rapidly to 25 fathoms, and the bottom is somewhat stony.

Sⁿ Lorenzo, dated as above. Alberto de Olaondo.

[No. 2.]

Senior Lieutenant Dⁿ Cayetano de Lángara, Ensign Dⁿ Juan de Hervé, and Passed Midshipman Dⁿ Pedro de Obregon, will embark in the launch in company with

the frigate's, which will proceed in charge of don Emeterio Eseta[1], of similar rank, mounted with swivel guns, and carrying marines; they will proceed all round this island, prepare a plan of it, and examine all its harbours, bays, and creeks with the greatest care, ascertaining what depth of water there is in them, what the bottom is like, and everything worthy of notice and which may contribute to furnish a fully detailed [report or description of it]. For which purpose they will take sufficient provisions for as long as may be necessary for the execution of this commission, during which due regard will be had to time in order that we may not be kept here longer than need be.

S^{n} *Lorenzo*, 16th of November, 1770. Don Phelipe Gonzalez.

[REPORT.]

Plan enclosed[2]. Cayetano de Lángara.

[No. 3.]

Senior Lieutenant D^{n} Alberto de Olaondo, D^{n} Vicente Eseta, of similar rank, Junior Lieutenant D^{n} Antonio de Cordova, D^{n} Jacobo Palavichini, D^{n} Pedro and D^{n} Rafael Guerrero de Torres, Lieutenant of Marines D^{n} Juan Manterola, and D^{n} Angel Garcia, Sub-lieutenant D^{n} Gavino de San Pedro, Passed Midshipman D^{n} Josef de Aramburu, and chief rigger[3] D^{n} Luis Perez, will make ready to march at daybreak to-morrow the 20th inst., and will land at the bay on the S.W. side of the island with 250

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[1] His name is more correctly written Hezeta.

[2] Here occurs the plan of the Isla de San Carlos: there is no verbal report with it, but the narrative of the launches' circumnavigation is contained in that written by Lieut. Hervé, and will be found at pp. 120—4.

[3] Or 'boatswain'—*maestro de Jarcia* in the MS.

men, 125 being marines, and the rest seamen instructed in musketry, with which arm they will go provided. All will be under the orders of the said Dⁿ Alberto Olaondo, to whom I give full and very special power to see that from the moment they set foot on shore no one is to leave the ranks. Each one concerned in forming up the column will, on proceeding inland, keep to the best and most convenient order of march, so that they may not become fatigued and that no person shall stray apart; and if nevertheless anyone shall attempt to do so or to desert or otherwise offend while on the route by which they will travel they will be visited with punishment in proportion to the nature of their offence.

[The party] will enter into relations with the natives and get knowledge of the country and of its produce; and take bearings from some height in order to determine its extent, in furtherance of the examination made of its outline by the small boats of the ship and the frigate: using at the same time means to occupy the attention of the natives and draw them off from hindering by their numbers the operation of erecting three crosses which is to be undertaken on the same day at the eastern side, on three hillocks which stand out near the point there. Possession of the island will be taken in the name of Our Catholic Monarch, and it is to be named in future the 'Island of San Carlos.'

On these orders being given effect to [the party] will return to the same place where it disembarked, in order to be conveyed on board, arranging the time in such a manner that they get back early enough for those who go to the ceremony of the Proclamation and erection [of the crosses] to return, on its completion, and avoid the confusion attending a re-embarkation after nightfall.

Sⁿ Lorenzo, 19th of November, 1770. Dⁿ Phelipe Gonzalez.

[REPORT.]

In compliance with the instructions issued to me in the foregoing order I have given effect to them in the following manner. At half-past four in the morning I landed [my party] at the south-western side of the island, in consequence of which unusual sight a number of the natives presented themselves and lent assistance, and accompanied us after we had formed into a column of eight companies, each one with its allotted officers and people. I directed my march towards the top of an eminence which might be from two to two and a half leagues distant, where I only arrived at eight o'clock in the morning, having had to mount up several times on the way in consequence of the undulations of the ground we passed over, and also in consequence of the ground being so bad that I found it necessary to quit the formation in which we were proceeding and to follow the footpath in single file. We then arrived at the last hill, which commanded [a view of] the whole island, and I saw that its greatest extent runs from N.E. to S.W. five and a half or six leagues, and the least about N. and S. four and a half to five leagues. At this central point we now halted. Its circumference may be from twelve to fourteen leagues, and its configuration as shown on the plan. Having made overtures to the natives I found them to be entirely docile and very timorous, for the reason that they have never held intercourse with any people save each other; thus, although they did not venture to approach to where we were standing, the seemly and civil manner in which they kept aside at the landing-place, and the same behaviour in everything at our going, and while there, and when under sail on our way back to the ship, the salute announcing the conclusion of the ceremony, and the readiness of those taking part in it to withdraw for

re-embarkation, allowed me time and daylight enough to carry out that portion of the foregoing order which relates thereto. *S^n Lorenzo*: dated as above. Alberto de Olaondo.

OFFICIAL INSTRUCTION.

Señor D^n JOSEF BUSTILLOS. Having decided to take possession on the morning of the 20th inst. of this island lately discovered by us, in the name of our Catholic Monarch after whom it is to be called the 'Island of San Carlos,' you will hold yourself in readiness to proceed ashore in this ship's boat in order to direct and bear witness to the ceremony; for which purpose the detachment commanded by D^n Buenaventura Moreno, Captain of Marines, and the following officers are appointed:—D^n Juan de Landecho, D^n Josef Serrato, D^n Juan Nepomuceno Morales, D^n Francisco de Agüera, Passed Midshipmen D^n Josef Morales and D^n Pedro de Obregon, Staff Paymasters D^n Antonio Romero and D^n Pedro Freyre de Andrade, Boatswain D^n Josef Antonio Areales, and the Chaplains D^n Felix Camuñez and D^n Francisco de Guebara, together with an armed party of seamen to form a guard in conjunction with the aforesaid detachment in order that the function may be invested with due formality.

You should conduct the ceremony on the hill situated near-by the N.E. point of the island, and cause a cross to be planted on each of the three hillocks which crown its summit and extend in line with the point. This should be done simultaneously on each, and after reading the Proclamation you will give orders for a triple salute to be fired by the musketry party, and seven cheers of 'Long live the King!' The ship and the frigate will respond with 21 guns; and you will cause the Paymasters to furnish you with a declaration of all that is done, to which you will procure the attestations of the recognised Chiefs or Caciques

of the islanders, signed in their native characters[1], in testimony of the satisfaction and general acquiescence with which they have all agreed to and acknowledged the cession. These instructions being given effect to, you will get the launches and boats ready, that all the people may be embarked for return to their respective ships. *S^n Lorenzo*, 19th of November, 1770—PHELIPE GONZALEZ.

DECLARATION.

The following attestation is made in obedience to the foregoing Official Instruction.

D^n ANTONIO ROMERO, Staff Paymaster in the Royal Navy, at present serving on board H.M. Ship of the Line named the *S^n Lorenzo*.

I certify—that, by direction of D^n Felipe Gonzalez y Haedo, Captain in the Royal Navy, commanding this ship and the Frigate *S^ta Rosalia* sailing under her escort, whom the Most Excellent Señor the Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Peru, D^n Manuel de Amat, under whose orders he is, has appointed for the investigation of this island, commonly marked on the

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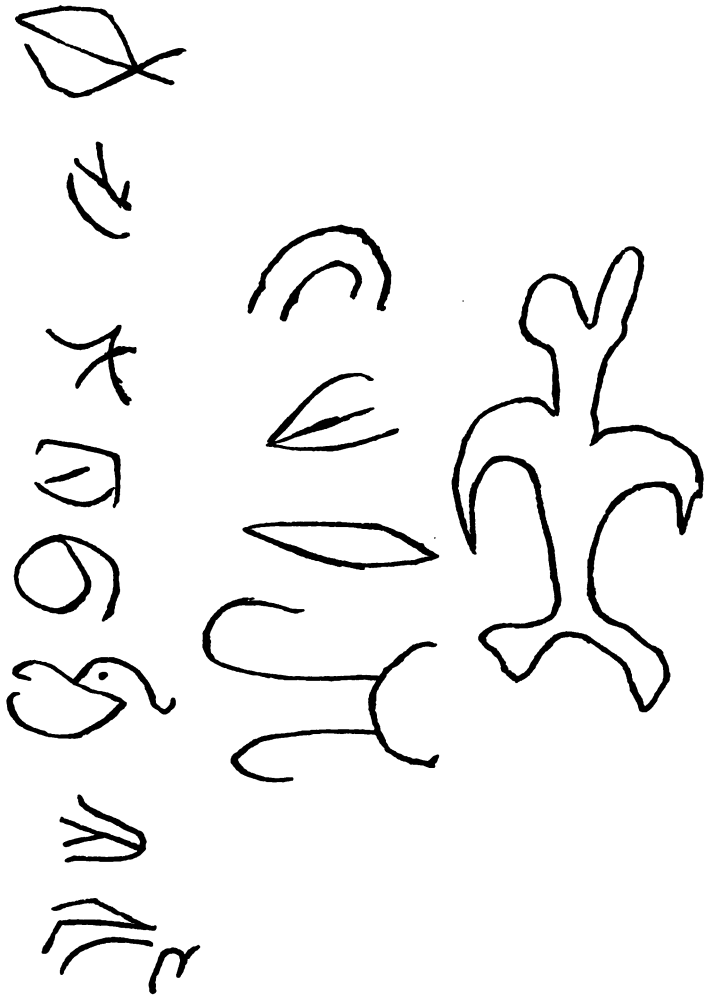
[1] On the 9th of December 1873 a deeply interesting communication was made to the members of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, by J. Park Harrison, Esq., M.A., on "The Hieroglyphics of Easter Island." The paper read had reference to the kyriographic characters of ancient date graven by means of obsidian tools upon wooden tablets, which had been revealed to the missionary Eugène Eyraud, a lay brother of the congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus, about the year 1864. Much more concerning these tablets, and others of the same kind which have since come to light, has been discovered and studied of late years; and various workers claim, with more or less plausibility, to have deciphered these curious inscriptions.

After Mr Harrison's paper was concluded Señor Gonzalez de la Rosa, a member of the Anthropological Institute and of the Royal Geographical Society of London, exhibited to the meeting a MS. containing some account of expeditions made to the Pacific Islands by order of the Viceroy of Peru, from 1770 to 1774, the last eight pages



SIGNATURES OF CHIEFS OF EASTER ISLAND,
TO THE SPANISH TREATY, 1770.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

charts by the name of David, it has on the day and date hereof been examined by sea and by land, and there has in so far as is possible been made known to and recognised by its native inhabitants their lawful Sovereign, and his powerful arm for their defence against foreign enemies, the which they have acknowledged with many demonstrations of pleasure and rejoicing. And in testimony of so happy a success three crosses have, by their consent, been erected on the hill which is at the N.E. extremity of the island; and the name of *S^{n} Carlos* has been bestowed upon the said island, in the presence of the native inhabitants assembled to the number of 800, and of all the officers, crew, and ship's company told off for the occasion under the command of D^{n} JOSEF BUSTILLOS, Knight of the Order of S^{t} James and a Commander in the Royal Navy. And the which three crosses being set up in position, the litany was sung; and at its conclusion a triple salute of musketry was fired by the aforesaid seamen and ship's company, and another of 21 guns by the ship and the Frigate.

And in order that this act of solemn possession may be made known and established by evidence, I declare this at the *Island of S^{n} Carlos*: the 20th of November, 1770= D^{n} ANTONIO ROMERO.

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of which related to Easter Island, and the voyage of Don Phelipe Gonzalez, with the ships *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia*.

"On the 15th of November," said the MS., "they took possession of the island on behalf of his Catholic Majesty Don Carlos III; and for that reason they gave to the island the name of *San Carlos*, instead of *David* as it was previously called. On that occasion, after the deed of possession had been signed by all the expeditioners, they invited the caciques to do the same, as an act of donation to the King of Spain. Then the chiefs *drew* the characters contained in the MS., the correctness and authenticity of which is testified by S^{r} Antonio Romero, the secretary of the expedition." The characters are now reproduced in this volume.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS
OF A COUNCIL OF WAR

held on board the *San Lorenzo* when in the vicinity of Easter Island, on the 14th of November, 1770.

Dⁿ ANTONIO ROMERO, Staff Paymaster in the Royal Navy, serving in His Maj.'s ship the *Sⁿ Lorenzo*:

I certify:—that, on the day and date hereof, by order of the officer commanding the above named ship of the line, Dⁿ Felipe Gonzalez, a Council of War was convened of the Officers, Navigating Officers, and coastal pilots of her and of the frigate *Sᵗᵃ Rosalia*, on board of which the said Señor delivered the following: Having regard to the instructions with which I set out on this voyage, issued to me by the Most Excellent the Señor Viceroy and Captain-General of the Kingdom of Peru, to go in search of the *Island of David*, placed according to his track in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees 5, and two hundred and seventy-five of longitude, which we consider we have more than reached, but warning me in the same that it may lie as far off as two hundred and seventy-four degrees of long. in the parallel mentioned, and also indicating that beyond, from this position down to lat. thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes and long. two hundred and seventy-three degrees, from which point steering a true West course as far as long. two hundred and seventy-nine degrees, the island in question ought to be met with: nevertheless it appears to me that *David's* [island] should[1] be sought for by making short stretches to the nor'ard and to the south'ard in the longitude of two hundred and seventy-four degrees, and as far as two hundred and seventy, where the Dutch chart (which I hold to be more accurate) places in

[1] The MS. has here an indecipherable abbreviation or copyist's error, meaning, apparently, *debe ser*.

this latitude two islands with one and the same name, the more Easterly in two hundred and seventy-five degrees and the more Westerly in two hundred and seventy-two degrees twenty minutes. I am led to trust this opinion more than the other by reason of the large number of birds we have been seeing for the last two days, which make me think that there is land in this immediate neighbourhood, especially the white birds, and curlews, which are the most numerous of this kind.

And the officers and pilots of the said Council having considered the whole of the above statement, agreed with one accord that they should persevere in the search for the said island of *David.*

This point being settled the said officer commanding enquired of the aforementioned navigating officers and coastal pilots whether they were acquainted with the island of *La Madre de Dios*, and the Magellanic seaboard, to which they replied that they were not; and having asked them whether they were prepared to go there with the ship and the frigate they said that they could by no means accept that risk. The instructions above referred to were then read, containing orders to visit and examine those localities, and in view of the risk and of various considerations which the said pilots discussed among themselves, they again repeated that they had no acquaintance with those regions, that the charts did not pretend to show them accurately laid down, that there was no book of sailing directions explaining their dangers or harbours, that those of them who had sailed in those waters, Dⁿ Pedro Manalla and the Pilot Dⁿ Cosmè Hugarte, had not the knowledge to serve the purpose, as they had only made canoe voyages between the islands and the mainland, that those seas are beyond comparison the most boisterous known, that the prevailing winds for the greater portion of the year blow dead on shore, from N.W. to W.S.W., and are very strong ones at

that, and persistent, and that in addition to those inconveniences there are continual rains, and when those take off they are often succeeded by a haze which prevents the horizon from being seen, that the main object aimed at by navigators who go that way when bound round the Horn is to keep well to windward by making all the westing they possibly can, since on this depends their getting round that Cape or not. For all these reasons they were not prepared to undertake to carry the two vessels into those regions without explaining the evident risks to which they would be exposed.

These considerations being taken into account the officers conferred at length among themselves and with the others who composed the Council, always with the instructions and other documents before them, and finally they resolved by an unanimous vote to follow up in due course the route prescribed as far as thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes, in search of the island cited—while that of *La Madre de Dios* and the Magellanic seaboard should stand over. And since there was no one with the requisite experience to pilot us from the point whence we were to steer for that, they were of opinion that we should then make for the harbour of Chiloe, in case the Governor of that place might be able to facilitate our further progress.

Signed by Felipe Gonzalez = Dⁿ Antonio Domonte = Josef Bustillos = Alberto de Olaondo = Buenaventura Moreno = Cayetano de Lángara = Hemeterio Eseta = Vicente Eseta = Juan de Landecho = Josef Serrato = Miguel Suasnabar = Antonio de Cordova = Jacobo Palavicini = Dⁿ Pedro Guerrero = Juan Nepomuceno Morales = Franco Antonio Agüera = Dⁿ Juan de Hervé = Dⁿ Gavino de Sⁿ Pedro = Gabriel Josef Galea.

This is a literal copy of the original which remains in the charge of the afore-named commanding officer, dated the 14th of November of 1770 = ANTONIO ROMERO.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF A COUNCIL OF WAR

held on board the *San Lorenzo*, in the Harbour of San Carlos de Chiloe, on the 17th of December, 1770.

D[n] ANTONIO ROMERO, Staff Paymaster of the Royal Navy, serving in H.M. Ship of the Line the *S[n] Lorenzo*:

I certify,—that the above named Ship of the Line and the frigate *S[ta] Rosalia* under her escort having come to an anchor in this Harbour, on the day of the date mentioned herein, her commander D[n] FELIPE GONZALEZ HAEDO, Captain in the Royal Navy, immediately despatched an official letter to the Governor and Commandant-General of the Province on the subject of providing coastal pilots, in order that he might proceed to an examination of the island of *La Madre de Dios*, as laid down in the instructions given for that purpose by the Most Excellent the Señor Viceroy of Peru: the which, and the reply thereto, are of the following tenour:

My Dear Sir,

Having come to an anchor to-day in this Harbour, at ten o'clock in the fore-noon, with the King's ship under my command named the *San Lorenzo*, and the frigate *Santa Rosalia* sailing under my escort, I accordingly give you this intimation of my arrival. I have deemed it proper to put in here in consequence of being under instructions to make an examination of the island of *La Madre de Dios*, with which I am entirely unacquainted; and, having no one on board of these ships who can afford me any experienced advice in regard to it, I should be glad

to meet with some person possessing a local knowledge of the coast from this Harbour and its vicinity as far as the Cape[1]. In regard to which, if you can provide me with any useful assistance, I should be enabled to fully carry out the task entrusted to my care.

May our Lord preserve to you many years. *San Lorenzo*, the fifteenth of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

To Señor Dⁿ Carlos Verenguer[2].

[Reply.]

My Dear Sir,

I have received yours dated on the day when you acquainted me with your arrival in this Harbour of San Carlos with H.M. ships under your command; which intimation I received with much satisfaction, as I trust that by this means I may be afforded an opportunity to be of service to you in every way possible. And, engaging myself in the interests you have mentioned, and those of your commission to explore the island of *La Madre de Dios*, for which purpose you point out the desirability of facilitating matters by the provision of a pilot who knows the locality and the neighbouring seas, I must state that there is not one in these waters nor in all the Province; and such person as there is with any local knowledge at all, namely Dⁿ Franᶜᵒ Machado, has been only as far as the harbour of *La Campana*, in one of the expeditions I despatched by His Majesty's command for the exploration of the several islands and sounds of this archipelago. If you consider that he could be of use to you in carrying out your commission I will give him orders to get

[1] *i.e.* Cape Horn.

[2] The name is thus spelt in the copy. It should really be Bérenger.

ready at once, and I will, for my part, contribute all the assistance which may be needed for the most exact compliance with the Royal Commands; my zeal being at the disposal of all matters connected with His Majesty's service.

May our Lord preserve to you many years, as is my desire. San Carlos, *y*[1] December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy.

Your most obedient and faithful servant kisses your hand.

D. CARLOS BÉRENGER.

S^or^ D^n^ Felipe Gonzalez.

And the gentlemen aforesaid having communicated orally in regard to the matter in question decided accordingly that a Council should be held on board the said ship, and that it should be composed of the Commanders, combatant officers of both vessels, navigating officers and coastal pilots. The said Governor offered to take part in it; together with his Serjeant-major, to which in fact effect was given on the same day; and the said Commander, having stated to the Council the reasons for its being convoked, explained as follows: Gentlemen,—We have met together in this Council in consequence of my being under orders from the Most Excellent the Señor Viceroy to proceed with the exploration of the island of *La Madre de Dios*, and the Magellanic coasts, as I have already announced at the other Council which was held a short time ago, whereat in regard to this same lack of coastal pilots, those of these two vessels, as well as the navigating officers testified that there were absolutely none acquainted with the localities in question, and therefore they ought not

[1] This *y* occurs so in the MS. at the Royal Academy of History's library. It is probably a copyist's error for 17.

to proceed thither. And, bearing in mind my sailing instructions to the effect that I should run no sort of risk, I deemed it prudent to put into this Harbour in order to determine whether I might proceed farther. And having addressed the above quoted official communication to its Governor, he replied in the terms before you, from which it appears that there is no other than D^{n} Fran^{co} Machado, who is here present, and that the said Governor could find none other in all the island.

His pilot will now be examined before the whole Council to judge whether his services might suffice, and that, on questions being put to him, we may hear any information he is able to afford us on the subject.

He replied—

That he had never gone so far as the island of *La Madre de Dios* or its adjacencies. That he had been only as far as the Harbour of *La Campana*, after starting from the island of *S^{n} Fernando*[1]. That from thence to the said Harbour of *La Campana* he had explored all the bays, sounds, harbours, and islands along that course in the

[1] Some account of Machado's journey is given by the Fray Pedro Gonzalez de Agüeros in his volume entitled *Descripcion Historial de la provincia y archipelago de Chiloe*, printed by D^{n} Benito Cano at Madrid in 1791, and published in one volume, 4to. This Gonzalez was the *Guardian*, Dean or Principal, of the college of Santa Rosa (the patron saint of Lima) at Ocopa; and it appears from his narration that Machado was despatched by the Governor of Chiloe, in a schooner, to examine the coasts to the Southward of Inchin Island in 1769. Ten years later two similar expeditions were undertaken by missionary Brothers of the Ocopa college in the same direction, in piraguas or canoes, among the Chonos and other heathen natives—*Indios Gentiles*, as the writer quaintly calls them. "These bold and adventurous pioneers returned, after a journey full of hardships, lasting four and a half months, among the inhospitable sounds and fiords of Southern Chile, to the town of Castro, in Chiloe; where they were welcomed back with unspeakable delight" (*alegria imponderable*, as Gonzalez puts it) "by the whole settlement; whose numbers, repairing together to the church, of one accord gave thanks to the Most High for the happy results of so distressful and hazardous (*penosa y arriesgada*) an undertaking."

minutest detail, and constructed a chart of them. That he had taken only one observation, namely at the island to which the name of *S^n Pedro* is given, and which lies about a mile to the south'ard of Guayaneco, in lat. 47° 46′ S.; and that during all the rest of his cruise he had not experienced a single day on which an observation could be obtained, by reason of the continual fogs and rainy weather. That not only were they prevented from getting observations, but that they could not even see the land when only a short distance off it. That the prevailing winds blow from N.W. to W. throughout the year, thus making a lee shore of the coast. That not having followed this track on more than a single occasion, and then only in piraguas, it was not possible to gain all the acquaintance with it requisite for undertaking the responsibility of piloting our vessels through those waters, more especially, as he had only made that passage coastwise by creeping from island to island by way of the sounds, which is a different matter from navigating to a harbour from the open sea, since it is not known what shoals, reefs, or submerged rocks may exist at a distance off the land, as these have sometimes been sighted as much as three leagues away to seaward. That all the harbours described along the coast in question, which he charted, have very difficult approaches, on account of the number of islands and reefs in their neighbourhood; and that he could not undertake to conduct these vessels in the capacity of pilot without exposing them to a more than certain probability of loss, for the reasons set forth.

The which signed—Fran^co Machado.

Finally, on the suggestion being made that the navigating officers and coastal pilots of the ship and of the frigate be interrogated, they expressed with unhesitating promptitude their opinion that the said part of their commission ought not to be proceeded with; one after the other answering and advising that, after what they had

just heard, they had come to the conclusion that to proceed would be to expose their vessels to great risk of loss, both on account of the severity of the weather, the prevailing onshore winds which last throughout the year, the shortness of the daylight even in summer-time and the chief portion of the year, and of the tempestuous seas and frequent gales of wind.

The which signed—Dⁿ Juan de Hervé = Dⁿ Francisco Agüera = Dⁿ Gavino de San Pedro = Dⁿ Gabriel Galea.

Having taken all of which into consideration I explained that the Governor and his Serjeant-Major, the Commodore, and Officers should express their opinions in regard to what has been stated beginning with the officer of least seniority—and that after signing, they might discuss any further particulars needful before the Council should rise.

A motion was then put:—That this Council is not of opinion that, in the face of so many risks and uncertainties, the voyage to the island of *La Madre de Dios* should be proceeded with in the ship and the frigate; and, following in their order of seniority, all the officers concurred in the motion with little or no divergence of view, being finally all of the same mind: and there signed—

Felipe Gonzalez = D. Antonio Domonte = Dⁿ Josef Bustillos = Alberto Olaondo = Buenaventura Moreno = Cayetano de Lángara = Emeterio Eseta Dudagoitia = Vicente Eseta Dudagoitia = Juan de Landecho = Antonio de Cordova = Josef Serrato = Miguel Suasnabar = Juan Nepomuceno Morales = Rafael Guerrero de Torres = Jacobo Palavicini = Pedro Guerrero de Torres.

The above is a literal copy of the original which remains in the care of the aforementioned Commodore under date the seventeenth of December of one thousand seven hundred and seventy = ANTONIO ROMERO.

REPORT OF ARRIVAL AT THE PORT OF EL CALLAO.

[From Captain Dⁿ Felipe Gonzalez, to Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga, Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,

I wrote to Your Excellency from the Port of Chiloe, under date the 3rd of January of the present year, by the route of Buenos Aires, informing you of all that had occurred up to that day in the conduct of my commission, forwarding also to Your Excellency several papers and plans relating to it, of which I now transmit duplicates. And I stated therein that I was only awaiting a favourable opportunity to put to sea, which I did on the 13th of the same [month], directing my course from thence to the [latitude of] 29½° S. in search of the island of whose existence I informed Your Excellency I had seen indications on my way down. I considered the situation to be one which would justify a further search, and having run as far West as long. 262° I made a number of traverses from N. to S. and E. to W. between the parallels of 27° and 40°, as will appear to Your Excellency on the annexed chart on which all my tracks until my return are laid down.

Having done all I could to the purpose I concluded that there is certainly no land in the localities I had sailed over, nor in their neighbourhood, other than that already verified and named on the charts after David, and now San Carlos. I returned to this during the cruise and coasted it close aboard without losing sight of it for three

days; and in order not to prolong the voyage unnecessarily, nor run short of provisions, I decided to withdraw, and I anchored to-day in this harbour, having sailed during the voyage 4173 leagues by the log; without having to bring any special occurrence on board this ship, or the frigate *S^ta^ Rosalia* in my company, to the notice of Your Excellency, whose important life I trust Our Lord may preserve in the greatest happiness for many long years. On board the ship of the line *S^n^ Lorenzo*, at anchor in the Port of the Callao, the 28th of March, 1771.

Most Excellent Sir,

I kiss Your Excellency's hand,

PHELIPE GONZALEZ.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother D^n^ Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of S^t^ John of Malta.

DESPATCH.

N° 404.

[From the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Announcing the return to the Port of The Callao of the two ships of war the *S^n^ Lorenzo* and the frigate *S^ta^ Rosalia* from their commission to reconnoitre the Islands and Coasts of the South Sea.

The commanders and officers of H.M. ship of war *S^n^ Lorenzo* and frigate *S^ta^ Rosalia* having completed their commission on the lines resolved upon by them for carrying it out, they put to sea on their return voyage towards the port of The Callao, which they entered on the 28th of March of this year; and, disembarking immediately, they presented the extracts from the log which they brought, with a chart of the track they had followed, from which they drew the conclusion that no island or land had been met with other than that which they reported on from Chiloe; as communicated to Your Excellency in my letters of the 5th and 12th of February of the present year, bearing the numbers 396 and 403.

They added, however, that they had sighted a second time the island called after *David*, at a distance of three leagues or thereabouts, from whence, taking it as a central point, they cruised on several different traverses within a radius of 80 leagues off it, without discovering land, or any indications from which it might appear that any exists within that circuit. These proceedings, being clear and definite, leave no room for doubt that that solitary island

is the same and only one figured on the charts which I consulted for the purpose of drawing up the instructions of which I enclosed a copy in my despatch of the 10th of October 1770, n° 363.

It is also certain that neither the English nor any other foreign nation has up to the present occupied that place at least; but that, being inhabited by a native race, although a tractable people and amenable to their own kind of government, these are liable to stand in the way of (or even to interfere with) any such settlements, as I explained in my despatch n° 396 of the 5th of February 1771, above cited. Although a reference to the charts of it discloses no harbours nor even convenient roadsteads in which vessels of large size can bring up, these and graver defects may be atoned for by the exercise of industry, favoured by the fertility of the soil, which, if one may credit statements from non-official sources, would seem to be greater than appeared to others; as well as the number of the inhabitants, in regard to whom I hope for a positive solution of the doubt expressed in the report referred to.

From these proceedings the suspicion I always had that the story put forward by the French ship called the *S^n Juan Bautista*, as to the purpose of her voyage and arrival from the port of Pondicheri, was forged, receives certain confirmation, as indeed I pointed out in my despatch n° 305, of the 20th of April 1770; and repeated in the later ones, regarding that provocation as one of the particular reasons by which I was guided in framing the instructions for the route the two ships of war should follow. As will already have been recognised from the legal papers I transmitted with my despatch n° 377[1] of the 24th of April of the year 1770, the picture drawn of the country, as well as

[1] An error of the copyist: the despatch was really n° 307.

of its inhabitants, is infinitely wide of what our own people have observed and met with.

And with regard to the belief that no other island or continent exists in that vicinity, it will be understood that in order to give prominence to the lack of particulars of the English A.A.[1], the name of the ship, and other circumstances by which the first account of the discovery and of the wealth they attribute to it ought to be vouched for, they made[2] those other détours[3] to and from New Guinea, Japan, Batavia, and other ports mentioned, with the preconceived purpose of screening by a mass of perils, the interests of the freights, partnerships, dividends, and so forth, mentioned in the instructions quoted as having been issued by the Governor of Pondicheri to the said ship, I consider that without doubt she made the island of *David* her destination not with any intention to unload there—which she never had—but rather for the purpose of attaining a fixed point from which to navigate to the other one, which was that of *Juan Fernandez*[4]. From thence their course was clear to these coasts, which their misfortunes did not allow them to reach in a condition to carry on a traffic, but only to just get into The Callao, where I took the precautionary measures (which I have already made known) to meet the case; observing strict care for the avoidance of all confusion and continuing down to the present the same rigour and attention so that they can in no wise give effect to the illicit intentions of their premeditated design; and trusting that on His Majesty's being informed of this latest development of this grave subject I may receive a command in accordance with what may be most agreeable to His Royal pleasure.

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[1] Astronomers?

[2] The MS. here has *asiaderon.*

[3] *Aquellos otros segundos viages.*

[4] This sentence in the original is much involved.

May our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years; Lima, 10th of April, 1771.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most respectful and faithful servant kisses your hand

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of Sᵗ John of Malta.

ROYAL COMMAND.

[Transmitted by the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru.]

The King being informed of the tenour of Your Excellency's despatch of the 5th of February last, and the documents accompanying it, relating to the discovery of the island of *David* in the South Sea, I am directed to acquaint Your Excellency that pending His Majesty's decision with regard to the kind of establishment to be deemed most suitable, some vessels should again be despatched to cultivate the friendship of the native inhabitants, taking them presents and using the opportunity to make a more thorough examination of the island, and of the particular locality in it most suitable for forming a settlement for the families and missionaries which His Majesty may decide to despatch thither.

Your Excellency is enjoined to take special care that all who proceed in these vessels may so conduct themselves as to guard against giving any cause for provocation in the minds of the natives. In furtherance of which Your Excellency shall be more fully informed by the first

vessels carrying despatches, as to what may be determined here in regard to this important subject, expecting that Your Excellency will presently be in a position to throw more light upon its details.

God grant &c. S^{n} Lorenzo el Real, 9th of October, 1771.

[Unsigned.]

To the Viceroy of Peru.

ROYAL COMMAND.

[Transmitted by the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru.]

His Majesty thinks that in the vessel or vessels which Your Excellency may despatch to the Island of *David*, now *S^{n} Carlos*, to cultivate the friendship of its native inhabitants, as communicated to Your Excellency in another despatch of even date, it may be well if, in addition to the ship's regular chaplain, some missionary priest of ability and discrimination go in order to gauge the disposition of those people, and if possible to promote the baptism of some lads[1]; and the King leaves Your Excellency full discretion to take such measures as may seem best for giving effect to the aforesaid instructions, pending the communication to Your Excellency of His Majesty's further decisions.

God grant &c. S^{n} Lorenzo el Real, 9th October, 1771.

[Unsigned.]

To the Viceroy of Peru.

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[1] *Criaturas.*

MINUTE.

[By the Minister of State to the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

I read over to the King this evening the accompanying despatch[1] which I have just received from the Prince of Maserano[2], and His Majesty desired me to pass it immediately to Your Excellency as I am doing, in order that you may become aware of the notices presented in it, and give the Viceroy of Peru some intimation of their contents by to-morrow's mail with a view to having a search made for the island which the English now propose to call *Otaheite.*

I request Your Excellency to be good enough to return the said despatch to me, and I continue to solicit that God may preserve your life for many years.

S^{n} Lorenzo el Real: 8th of October, 1771.

el Marq^{s} de Grimaldi.

To the Señor D^{n} Julian de Arriaga.

DESPATCH.

[From the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru.]

Most Excellent Señor,

I forward confidentially to Your Excellency, by command of the King, the accompanying paper containing accounts obtained of the voyage round the world lately

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[1] The despatch was not among the papers at the *Archivo*; but the enclosed notices relating to *Otaheite* were,and are here presented. They relate to Capt. Cook's visit in H.M.S. *Endeavour* in 1769.

[2] The Prince of Maserano was at this time Spain's Ambassador at the Court of St James.

made by the English astronomers Solander and Banks, to the end that after acquainting yourself with its contents, you may thereupon make suitable preparations in connection with the explorations being carried on in those seas, for searching out by any practicable means the island of *Otaheite*. And, in the event of falling in with it, to proceed, if possible, to an examination of its physical features and other circumstances; early notice of the results being given by the officer charged with these operations, in order that you may communicate them to His Majesty, as is hoped, by the first opportunity.

May God &c.

S^{n} Lorenzo el Real: 9th of October, 1771.

[Unsigned.]

To the Señor Viceroy of Peru.

[Enclosure.]

NOTICES obtained of the Voyage round the world recently performed by the English Astronomers Solander and Banks, in the sloop *Endeavour*, whose journal has not yet been made public[1].

From Portsmouth they directed their course to the Madeira islands: from thence they went to Brazil, where the Portuguese received them with a bad grace. At the entrançe to Rio de Janeiro they met a Spanish ship, from which they admit receiving many courtesies[2]. They passed Cape Horn, and arriving at the island to which Capt. Wallis[3] four years ago gave the name 'George's Island,' they found that its natives called it *Otaheite*.

They found them very affable, and in order the better to gain their good will they made them several presents,

[1] This relates, of course, to Capt. Cook's first voyage of circumnavigation. The astronomer was Mr Charles Green, of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. The *Endeavour* returned to England on July 13th, 1771.

[2] *Mil favores.*

[3] The MS. has 'Wallace.'

by which means they were enabled to stay as long a time as they needed for observing there, and in two or three other islands near-by, the transit of Venus across the sun's disc; and for learning something of the language and collecting several plants and seeds which was all they took away to England. Money is not known in those parts, and neither metal of any kind nor anything of value is produced. From the said island (to which they want to preserve the name given to it by Wallis[1]) they passed on to the Isle of Dogs, whence they went unsuccessfully in search of those called on the maps the Isles of Solomon; and being satisfied that they do not exist, they proceeded southwards to examine New Zealand.

MINUTE.

[By the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Minister of State.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Acting in conformity with the terms of Your Excellency's Minute of the 8th inst., with which you sent me the Prince of Maserano's despatch now enclosed for return to you, I forwarded by to-day's mail the corresponding instructions to the Viceroy of Peru, to the end that the necessary preparations may be made for ascertaining, by such means as may be practicable, the position of the island of *Otaheite* in those seas. And I now advise you of what action I have taken in order that it may be communicated tc His Majesty.

May God grant &c.

S^{n} Lorenzo, 9th of October, 1771.

[Unsigned.]

To the Señor Marq^{s} de Grimaldi.

[1] The MS. has 'Wallace.'

DESPATCH.

N° 566.

[From the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Sir,

Announcing the arrangements about to be made in obedience to the two Royal Commands cited, for drawing closer the communication with the Island of *David*, and for further exploring it.

His Majesty being informed of the tenour of my despatch of the 5th of February, 1771, and the documents which accompanied it relating to the discovery of the Island of *David* in the South Seas, was pleased to direct that I be informed, through the medium of two Royal Commands dated the 9th of October of the same year, that, pending His Majesty's decision as to the kind of establishment which might be deemed suitable, some vessels should again be despatched to cultivate the friendliness of the native inhabitants, instructing me as to the best means for ensuring that effect be given to the said mission in such wise that the spiritual and temporal benefits to which His Majesty aspires may be assured by means of a most thorough exploration of the country and intimate relations with the natives. And, being a design in whose favour I am not only impelled by obedience but prompted by a sense of natural duty, I trust that this unexpected enterprise may be attended by all prosperity and I shall endeavour without loss of time to take the steps most appropriate for conducing to so important an object.

May Our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years of life. Lima, 14th of March, 1772.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your Excellency's most humble, respectful, and faithful servant kisses your hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of Sᵗ John of Malta.

ROYAL COMMAND.

[From the Minister of State to the Viceroy of Peru.]

By the pair of Commands forwarded separately under date the 9th of October, Your Excellency will understand what the King has decided upon in reference to your despatch of the 5th of February, which deals with the new Island of *David*—now *Sⁿ Carlos*—in the South Sea. And, following thereon, His Majesty now commands me to say to Your Excellency that he views that useful discovery with two aims in mind—the first, to rescue the Natives from their wretched state of Idolatry, winning them by such discreet and gentle means as may be, to a knowledge of the true God and the profession of our Catholic Religion: and the second, to gain effective possession of the said island in such wise that no other Foreign Nation shall occupy it.

His Majesty considers that the settlement of a few families (who may conveniently be composed of married soldiers) is all that is needed for both these objects; and that they should be presided over by a judicial officer

assisted by some missionary Brothers[1]; selecting such a site as may appear to them suitable, and sending them furnished with provisions and all other necessaries for their dwellings, together with a supply of presents of the kinds best calculated to secure the friendliness of the Indians as the first basis of goodwill and a kindly reception.

The King leaves to your Excellency's proved administrative ability and established zeal full discretion as to the execution of this design, modifying it more or less as may seem requisite and employing such means as Your Excellency may deem opportune. Being informed of which His Majesty conceives that the acquisition referred to will not call for any extraordinary expenditure, because neither is it probable that any Foreigners would go to the length of usurping our possession in time of Peace, nor even of War, when it would offer no greater advantage than those of dealing in contraband. And His Majesty trusts you will keep him informed as to the measures you decide upon, and give effect to, on this subject; relying upon you to arrange for the despatch of other vessels to the said island, considering its proximity, for the support of the persons who may be stationed there and for the conveyance to them of such stores as they may stand in need of.

May God preserve to Y.E. many years, Madrid, 11th of December, 1771.

Read to H.M. and approved.

G.[2] [Unsigned.]

To the Señor Viceroy of Peru.

In duplicate.

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[1] *Religiosos Misioneros.*

[2] The Marqués de Grimaldi.

DESPATCH.

N° 573.

[From the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting action taken in compliance with the Royal Command cited, with which were included certain notices communicated by the English Astronomers in the recent voyage they made round the World to observe the passage of Venus across the Sun's Disc.

By the King's Command bearing date the 9th of October, 1771, Your Excellency was pleased to remit to me a paper containing notices obtained of the voyage lately made round the World by the English Astronomers who observed the transit of Venus across the solar Disc, in which was announced the exploration of an Island to which a certain Captain of that Nation gave, now some four years ago, the name 'George's Island,' and which its inhabitants call *Otaheite*: intimating to me also that the investigations being carried on in those Seas should be directed towards ascertaining its whereabouts, by such means as might be practicable, and also to proceed if possible to an examination of its physical features and other circumstances, and to give early information of the results.

I received by the regular mail at the same time a letter from the Governor of Buenos Ayres, dated the 3rd of January of this year, in which he enclosed to me a comprehensive account of the notices obtained at Port Egmont by that Commander, in which, among other things, the voyage made by an English frigate to the South Seas three years previously was set forth, and the commission she

carried for the formation of a settlement in George's Island, which they place in lat. 20° South and on the parallel of the Solomon Islands, to be annually relieved by some other transport.

Which copies I am not enclosing here, as I presume that the said Governor has forwarded duplicates to you directly, and I conclude that you are in possession of even more ample information.

Both notices agree as to the matter of an English settlement in these Seas or their vicinity; of which I make no doubt, and never have doubted since I communicated my opinion to that effect some years ago. This, indeed, has received increasing corroboration day by day from my own observation and from intelligence received. The only thing which could have caused me to waver in this opinion would have been the honest and sincere abandonment by England of the *Malvinas* islands, because I have never been able to understand nor never will believe that these can offer a suitable field for any regular[1] plantation, or considerable fortification, unless for the sole purpose of using the advantage of their situation as a port of call for vessels to refresh at, when bound to and from the South Sea, and which might in time become as prosperous as that which Holland possesses at the Cape of Good Hope. With its natural advantages, situated as it is at the mouth of the funnel or strait which the islands and the continent together form, it will make its occupiers complete masters of these Seas.

As tending to confirm me in this belief are the 20 gardens, although but small ones, planted and cultivated there; which were mentioned in the Inventory at the time our military and vessels sent there for that purpose evicted

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[1] The word *formal* in the original here seems insusceptible of exact rendering in English. It means 'of set purpose.'

the English; being all indications that they were laying up stores and provisions for visitors they expected, over and above the few people who were actually residing there at that period.

For these therefore, as well as other innumerable political reasons, I am firmly convinced of the existence of some outpost in the midst of these Seas. The tenacity with which the English persist in retaining their foothold in the *Malvinas* has served to augment the force of these considerations and, according to the account given by the Governor, D[n] Xavier Antonio Muñoz, under date the 4th of November, 1771 (which I have by me, quoted in full), they are daily rendering their occupancy more effectual, and more secure. The single difficulty which remains to me is with regard to the true situation of the supposed island, because the notices Your Excellency enclosed to me call it George's Island, and those supplied by the said Governor term it the Isle of St George. The former reveal nothing as to its latitude, and merely leave one to conjecture that it lies well beyond Cape Horn, since the English Astronomers proceeded to it after rounding that cape: the latter place it in the latitude of 20 degrees South, in the parallel of the Solomons. These clues yield an immense discrepancy between one latitude and the other, and the one position and the other.

And although I might overlook the difference in name, as a mere slip, yet, far from imagining that to be the case, the difficulty only gains point from the certain knowledge we possess that two distinct islands an immense distance apart do exist with almost the same name. The first called 'St George's,' is situated in the interval traversed when steering from the harbour of *La Hambre*[1] towards

[1] Port Famine, in Magalhaens' Straits.

Tierra del Fuego, as stated in the voyage of Captain Viron[1] recently made round the World by order of the English Admiralty, translated into Spanish and printed at Madrid in the year 1763, at ff. 66 and 67 of the second edition. The other, called 'King George's Island,' or 'George's,' which name those voyagers gave to it, is situated in one of the parallels of latitude studiously suppressed, as appears at f. 122 of the same voyage, where they promise to publish the exact degrees of longitude and latitude in the Gazettes, as soon as verified; in consequence of which their fellow-countrymen are in possession of those islands as made known in the Note at f. 114 of the voyage referred to. The only thing certain is that this island, like the others, lies, as they state, in a track Westwards from the outer island of Juan Fernandez[2]; and, from the remark they let fall at f. 113 in reference to their hopes of finding refreshments in plenty at the islands about the 20th parallel, it seems probable that having begun from thence to fall in with the islands already laid down, the one in question should be that called 'George's,' and prove to be a link in the extensive chain of islands which connects with the Solomons. And this seems the more likely, in that they pretend at f. 125 and f. 126 that those are imaginary: to which the name applied by the natives to *Otaheite* lends probability, since, as far as we are informed, its pronunciation betokens a close affinity to the dialect in use by the people of *David's* island and others of which modern Geographers have collected some fragments.

With these facts before me, and in the endeavour to clear the question up more thoroughly, I have given effect to the most speedy and thorough measures for the timely equipment of H.M.'s frigate called the *Aguila*, in order to

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[1] Byron.

[2] Generally known to English seamen as *Mas a fuera*.

fully comply with the instructions conveyed to me in the Royal Commands of the 3rd of October[1], which I acknowledged in my despatch of the 14th inst. n° 566; so as by means of this opportunity to avail ourselves of this latest discovery and to investigate the matters Your Excellency was pleased to keep me informed of, together with others which may conduce to provide a trustworthy account of the subject, which is one I deem of the greatest importance to the Monarchy and to the peace and tranquillity of seaborne commerce. I will report the results of these plans and arrangements, and also any action I may find it necessary to take over and above those already referred to.

May Our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years. Lima, 20th of March, 1772.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, obedient and faithful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor
Brother Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga,
Knight of Justice of the Order of Sᵗ John of Malta.

DRAFT DESPATCH.

[From the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru.]

The arrangements Your Excellency has made for giving timely despatch to the Frigate *Aguila* with the object of investigating *Otaeyte*, called by the English 'George's Island,' in pursuance of instructions conveyed to Your Excellency

[1] Meaning the 9th, presumably.

in a Royal Command of the 9th of October in the past year, have been much to the King's satisfaction, and he directs me to inform you to this effect in reply to your representations of the 20th of March last[1].

God &c. S^{n} Lorenzo, 30th of October, 1772.

[Unsigned.]

To the Señor D^{n} Manuel de Amat.

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[1] *i.e.* contained in the Viceroy's despatch n^{o} 573, q. v.

DESPATCH.

N° 601.

[From the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies.]

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting progress in regard to the Expedition to the island of *David alias S^n Carlos* in conformity with the Royal Command of the 11th Dec., 1771, together with his intentions in reference to that important subject set forth in the despatches quoted.

Your Excellency was pleased to supplement the pair of Royal Commands, dated separately on the 9th of October, 1771, by another of December the 11th in the same year; in which, on further consideration of the two exalted aims His Majesty has in view and which are appropriate to his Catholic zeal, I was directed to promote the settlement of a few families composed, if possible, of married soldiers, at the new island of *David*, now *S^n Carlos*, in the South Sea, to be under the control of a judicial officer and some missionary Brothers.

His Majesty was pleased at the same time to entrust to my zeal and experience all arrangements for the execution of this design, modifying it more or less if requisite, and adopting such measures as might seem opportune, and it was intimated also that I am expected to submit an account of whatever I might decide upon and give effect to on this subject, together with any other matters which might come to my notice in connection with it.

In compliance with this last point I beg to state in explanation, that no sooner had the principal resolutions of the 3rd of October[1], as quoted, received my attention,

[1] Meaning the 9th, presumably.

than I set about concerting plans, without the loss of a moment, for giving the most punctual effect to them. And, finding on reflection the only vessel adapted by her size and equipment to which I could entrust the interests of such an undertaking to be the frigate named the *Aguila*, I at once arranged to have her careened and put into proper repair, of which I gave an account in my despatches of the 14th and 20th of March, n° 565 and 571[1].

These operations have been continued unremittingly and bid fair to place her in a very different condition from that she was in, notwithstanding the hard usage she had sustained and the almost total destruction of her upper works. The expenses have, in consequence of this, amounted to a somewhat larger sum than it was intended to incur; but, for reasons of economy, and also in order that the repairs might be effected under my own eye, it was not deemed permissible to send her round to Guayaquil. In this way not only have many thousands [of pesos] been saved, as the result has shown, but also—which is of no less importance—much valuable time has been gained by this plan; so that she should be ready now in a very few months, instead of at least a year if she had been sent away.

This being so, I think that she will be able to put to sea by the 1st of August this year; which is indeed the most propitious season, being that of the declining winter and the corresponding approach of spring in these climates.

Not only could an investigation of the island of *Otaeyte*, or 'St George,' thus be accomplished without running any extraordinary risk, in order to assure ourselves as to whether it is peopled or deserted; but the exploration of the island of *David* might be completed in full detail, during the calm weather; observing the number, description, and character of its native inhabitants, their system

[1] These despatches are not forthcoming at the *Archivo*.

now *S*^{n} *Carlos* and the considerations to which he has given thought in endeavouring to bring about the happiest result of the instructions conveyed to him in the Commands to which his despatch relates.

I pass it to Your Excellency in order that, being informed of its contents, you may be good enough to return it to me.

May God &c. The Palace, 20th of Dec^{r}. 1772.

[Unsigned.]

To the S^{or} Marq^{s} de Grimaldi.

MINUTE OR DRAFT DESPATCH.

[From the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru.]

Your Excellency's design that the expedition to the Island of *David* shall take place early in the Spring in order that its success may be assured, and that all the investigations which Your Excellency judiciously contemplates, and has explained in your despatch n^{o} 601, may be carried out, is a very proper one; and His Majesty has been duly informed thereof.

May God grant &c. Madrid, 23rd of December, 1772

[Unsigned.]

To the S^{or} Don Man^{l} de Amat.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES DURING THE VOYAGE

OF

THE FRIGATE *SANTA ROSALIA*

FROM

EL CALLAO DE LIMA TO THE ISLAND OF DAVID AND THENCE TO SAN CARLOS DE CHILOE,

in the year
1770.

By an officer[1] of the said Frigate.

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[1] Probably Don Francisco Antonio de Agüera y Infanzon, Chief Pilot.

JOURNAL

of the principal occurrences during the voyage of the Frigate *Santa Rosalia*, under the command of Captain Don Antonio Domonte, which sailed from the Port of the Callao on the 10th of October, 1770, in company with the ship of the line *San Lorenzo*, Commodore don Felipe Gonzalez; to find and examine the Island of David, and others in the South Seas, her chief pilot being don Francisco Antonio de Agüera Infanzon[1].

On Wednesday, the 10th of OCTOBER, 1770, at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, we put to sea with a fresh breeze from S.S.E., making all sail in order to join company with the Commodore, which we succeeded in doing at sun-down: the north-western headland of the island of San Lorenzo of the Callao bearing then S., 5° S.E., distant ¾ of a league, and at eight o'clock from 2½ to 3 leagues off on the same bearing.

From this point I took my departure, fixing as my base the latitude of 12° 5′, and longitude 298° 45′, meridian of Tenerife. We set our course to the S.W. with the wind fresh from S.S.E.

Thursday, 11th. I could get no observation at noon: by my reckoning I was in lat. 12° 29′, and long. 297° 45′. Course 68°, 3rd quadrant. Distance 63½ miles. The winds were fresh, from the 2nd quadrant.

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[1] Two officially attested copies of the original of this Journal exist in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* at Madrid, both made by Royal Command in 1778. The original itself was deposited in the Archives of the *Despacho Universal de Indias*—the Colonial Office of Spain.

There is also a copy, on paper and in handwriting of the same period, in the British Museum [Eg. 902: nº 3, f. 53]. *Vide* also p. lxiii.

Friday, 12th. At noon I observed the sun in lat. 13° 1′. Course 60° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 65 miles. Longitude reached 296° 46′: the same wind continued.

Saturday, 13th. Latitude by observation 13° 37′, long. 295° 25′. Course 65° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 87 miles.

Sunday, 14th. Lat. by observation 14° 40′, long. 293° 47′. Course 56° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 115 miles. Wind 2nd quadrant.

Monday, 15th. Lat. by reckoning 16° 6′, long. 292° 20′. Course 45° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 118 miles. Wind 2nd quadrant, fresh.

Tuesday, 16th. Lat. by observation 17° 27′, long. 231° 32′. Course 32°, 3rd quadrant. Distance 96 miles: wind .....*idem.*

Wednesday, 17th. Lat. by observation 18° 37′, long. 290° 46′. Course 33° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 80½ miles: wind.....*idem.*

Thursday, 18th. Lat. by observation 19° 43′, long. 290°. Course 33° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 79½ miles: wind *idem*, fine.

Friday, 19th. Lat. by observation 20° 58′, long. 289° 1′. Course 36° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 93 miles: wind E.S.E., fine. On this day, and on the previous one, the marines and seamen of both ships were put through the musketry firing exercise in compliance with the Commodore's order to that effect.

Saturday, 20th. Lat. by observation 21° 45′, long. 287° 32′. Course 59° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 97 miles: wind *idem.*

Sunday, 21st. Lat. by observation 22° 43′, long. 286° 23′. Course 49° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 84½ miles: wind *idem.*

Monday, 22nd. Lat. by reckoning 23° 40′, long. 285° 45′. Course 32° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 68 miles: wind *idem*, fine.

Tuesday, 23rd. Lat. by observation 25° 14′, long. 285° 11′. Course 17° 3′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 101 miles: wind *idem*, with squalls.

Wednesday, 24th. Lat. by observation 26° 50′, long. 284° 52′. Course 11° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 95½ miles: wind *idem*. According to this position I am 10 miles short of the parallel of the Island of David, which should bear W. 3° S.W., distant 145 leagues.

Thursday, 25th. Lat. by observation 27°, long. 283° 23′. Course 85° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 79 miles: wind N. and not fine.

Friday, 26th. Lat. by reckoning 27°, long. 282° 20′. Course W. Distance 56 miles: wind variable in the 3rd and 4th.

Saturday, 27th. Lat. by observation 27° 8′, long. 282° 14′. Course 82° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 62 miles: wind from the 3rd quadrant.

Sunday, 28th. Lat. by observation 26½°, long. 281° 32′. Course 32° 45′, 4th quadrant. Distance 70 miles: wind variable.

Monday, 29th. Lat. by reckoning 27° 20′, long. 281° 34′. Course 2°, 2nd quadrant. Distance 73 miles: wind 3rd quadrant.

Tuesday, 30th. Lat. by observation 27° 42′, long. 281° 54′. Course 27° 30′, 2nd quadrant. Distance 98 miles: wind *idem*.

Wednesday, 31st. Lat. by observation 27° 18′, long. 281° 27′. Course 46°, 4th quadrant. Distance 35 miles: wind *idem*.

NOVEMBER. Thursday, 1st. Lat. by observation 27° 1′, long. 280° 41′. Course 67° 30′, 4th quadrant. Distance 44 miles, wind S.

Friday, 2nd. Lat. by observation 27° 00′, long. 280° 4′. Course W. Distance 33½ miles: wind 2nd quadrant, and calm.

Saturday, 3rd. Lat. by observation 27° 06′, long. 279° 36′. Course 77° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 26 miles: wind 2nd quadrant and 1st.

Sunday, 4th. Lat. by observation 27° 01′, long. 279° 11′. Course 72°, 4th quadrant. Distance 23 miles: wind variable.

Monday, 5th. Lat. by reckoning 26° 59′, long. 278° 52′. Course 84°, 4th quadrant. Distance 18 miles: wind *idem.*

Tuesday, 6th. Lat. by observation 26° 56′, long. 277° 31′. Course 86° 30′, 4th quadrant. Distance 72 miles: wind 2nd quadrant, fine: the Island of David bore W., distant 22 leagues, but no indication of land has been seen.

Wednesday, 7th. Lat. by observation 27° 2′, long. 275° 53′. Course 87° 15′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 87 miles: wind from the 3rd quadrant, fine. According to the position of this day I found myself somewhat to the westward of the meridian of the supposed Island of David, whose western cape is situated (according to my chart) in long. 276° 40′ from Tenerife; and, as no signs of land were met with, I inferred that the said island must lie farther to the west. From this day forwards we lay to during the nights, making all sail by day.

Thursday, 8th. Latitude by observation 27° 13′, long. 274° 54′. Course 81° 30′, 3rd quadrant. Distance 51 miles: wind E., fine. As I considered I was much out in my longitude I began, from to-day, to work out the equation by the sun, and to correct the tables of its declination, in order to find the daily latitude with greater accuracy, so important a circumstance for our commission.

Friday, 9th. Latitude by observation 27° 19′, long. 270° 54′. Course 82° 30′, 4th quadrant. Distance 69 miles: wind 2nd and 4th quadrant. In the afternoon of this day the Commodore made the signal of land in the 3rd quad-

rant; but later on we saw it to be cloud-banks, which dispersed and undeceived us. They certainly bore much similitude to it.

Monday, 12th. Latitude by observation 26° 58′, long. 269° 51′. Course 71°, quadrant[1]. Distance 59 miles: wind 2nd quadrant. Since yesterday morning abundance of birds (of a kind unfamiliar to our people) were seen, in the form of gulls, and of a dark colour, the bill and the wings being very pointed, the latter projecting with marked curvature towards the tail, which is open after the fashion of the tern. They fly leisurely, and always in flocks of from four to six, uttering a cry similar to mangrove parrokeets. And these are they which came nearest to the frigate, calling, in the course of their flight, by night as by day. These birds are the true indication of the island (as we experienced), for we never saw any of their species before nor afterwards; nor did they even approach the land nearer than four leagues. We called them *Chillones*[2], on account of the clamour they made.

Tuesday, 13th. Latitude by observation 26° 59′, long. 269° 11′. Course 89°, 4th quadrant. Distance 36 miles: wind 2nd quadrant. The *Chillone* birds continued.

Wednesday, 14th. Lat. by observation 27° 12′, long. 268° 30′. Course 69°, 3rd quadrant. Distance 30 minutes: wind the same. The *Chillones* follow in still greater numbers. On the morning of this day the Commodore called the captain, officers, and pilot of this frigate on board of his ship, with whom and his own he held a council of war, in which it was unanimously decided to continue our course to the W. notwithstanding that we were 160 leagues beyond the position quoted for the Island of David. The *Chillones* follow.

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[1] Figure wanting in MS.

[2] *Anglice*, 'screamers,' or 'bawlers.'

Thursday, 15th. At five o'clock in the morning we made sail, getting all the canvas on her, *en vuelta de uno*, the horizon being cloudy; but at half-past seven it cleared up, and we sighted land ahead. Being fully confident that there was more than lay in the N.W. we continued in search of it. Notwithstanding we were as much as 8 to 10 leagues distant we were able to make out that it was not mountainous, but of moderate height, and not timbered. The extent of horizon it occupied was 45°, that is, from N.N.W. to W.N.W., between which points there was visible an indentation of the coast with a distinctive landmark in the centre, consisting of two pap-like eminences [*tetas*] or peaks rising above the rest of the outline. At ten o'clock, being then from 5 to 6 leagues from land, the most northern part of the island bore N.N.W. 5° N.W. At noon I got an observation of the sun in 27° 13′ of latitude, being by my calculation in long. 267° 2′. At that hour the southern point of the island stood out clearly, and was bearing W.N.W. 5° W., and the northern one N. 5° N.W. Our position was then about 3 leagues off the shore, whose soil we noticed to be covered for the most part with green scrub, one species of coarse bush standing prominently above the rest so as to give an appearance like pyramids on the beach, as if symmetrically set up. These were also dotted in a scattered fashion about the country inland, which appeared to us to be fertile, as we observed no broken ground, nor precipices, nor stony places throughout it, but various valleys, and plains forming the mountain plateaux as it were, and quite covered with greenery as far down as the sea-beach, showing the fertility of the country. As soon as we came close up with the southern point already mentioned the Commodore began to find the wind baffling, working along shore towards the N. at a distance of a league from the land, in which we made out the bay already mentioned, from which a great smoke was

made to us at three distinct parts of it: from this we concluded it to be inhabited, but without having been able to distinguish any person, nor make out any village, house, shanty, or hut, either on the beach or anywhere close by. At half-past ten in the afternoon, having come up with the North point and being about two miles distant from the land, we observed a troop of people composed of eighteen persons who were walking briskly along the summit of a high ridge, where they all collected together and sat down, remaining in this wise while we passed in view about a gunshot off. We noticed some of them clothed in garments like a *poncho* or cloak, coloured: at the first sight we thought they were European soldiers, but having approached within a mile of them we became satisfied that they were natives, all of them unarmed, and some nude, wearing plumes on their heads.

Being at this position the eastern point of the island bore West, true bearing; and on working out the distance run since the observation at noon I found myself in lat. 27° 2′, and that should be the true position of the east point of David's Island, as far as the latitude is concerned[1]; and in respect of longitude, inasmuch as I found myself at noon to-day to be in 267° 2′ from Tenerife, and as we had been sailing with very slight deviation on the same meridian there remained but one mile difference, allowing for our being that much off the land. I therefore say that according to my calculations as worked out during the passage, the most eastern point of David's Island is placed in 27° 2′ of latitude S. and in 267° 1′ longitude from Tenerife, thus bearing with the Isle of San Lorenzo off the Callao W.S.W. 6° S. and E.N.E. 6° N.E., distant 625 leagues of 20 to the degree; and being 38° West from the meridian of Copiapo, and consequently 680 leagues distant from the Chilian

[1] The actual position is 4½ miles more southerly and 22 miles more easterly, taking Cape O'Higgins as the point referred to.

continent. The profile of the island facing eastward extends about 14 to 16 miles, and the southern and northern points lie E.N.E. and W.S.W.[1]

Having sailed past the northernmost point we came into view of another bay which indented to the W.N.W., which seemed more convenient than the first: we laid the yards aback and the Commodore lowered his boat, sending her in armed to the said bay and signalling us to do the same. At half-past four in the afternoon our boat went away with Don Juan Bentuza[2] Moreno, Captain of Batallones, and the midshipman Don Joseph Morales, escorted by twelve soldiers, one serjeant, and two corporals equipped with ammunition. The coastal pilot of the frigate and a pilot's mate also embarked, with the instruments of their craft and headed for the bay, where the boat from the Commodore was already taking soundings. We remained under reduced canvas, making short boards off and on, awaiting the return of the exploring party, who, at sunset withdrew, we on board reaching in beyond the centre of the bay to meet them. We saw numbers of natives on the beach. The anchorage they found is wholly unprotected, and the bottom is of bad quality. We passed the night under easy sail, and at times hove to, keeping abreast of the bay.

Friday, 16th. At sunrise I observed the variation of the needle, and noted 2° 30′ to the N.E. At 5 the Commodore lowered his boat and despatched her ashore as soon as he arrived, in quest of anchorage, and we did the same under short canvas; and, lowering all our boats into the water, we passed within about a mile of the eastern

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[1] These bearings should probably be reversed, or the words 'Southern' and 'Northern' interchanged. The real direction is S.W. by W. and N.E. by E. true bearing, presuming that the N.E. and not the N.W. point is meant; but the latter is in fact the northernmost headland.

[2] 'Juan Bentuza' is evidently a copyist's error for Buenaventura.

point of the bay and saw a considerable number of natives posted on the heights, who collected nearer to the middle of the bay as we sailed towards it, so that by the time we let go there must have been more than 800 people, divided in batches, all wearing cloaks of a yellow colour or white. There was not the least appearance of hostility, nor of the implements of war about them; I only saw many demonstrations of rejoicing and much yelling.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in this bay in 18 fathoms, gravel, coral, small shells, and fine sand. We moored East and West with one anchor to the E. and a kedge to the W. We saw some natives swim off and pass on board of the Commodore; the rest remained on the sea beach, in loose cloaks, shouting with delight and giving other signs, all intended to make us aware of their docility and of their desire to come on board or to see us on shore. At midday the two launches of both ships started (by the Commodore's orders), commissioned to examine and explore the whole circuit of the island, which up to this time we had understood to be a short one. To this end combatant officers, pilots, marines, and the necessary seamen were embarked, with six days' provisions, while the Commodore was making arrangements as to the mode of communicating with the natives, and for giving effect to the orders he bore. We have ascertained that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship; they are of stone, and of such a height and corpulence that they look like great thick columns, and as I afterwards ascertained in examining them and taking their dimensions the entire body is of a single block, and the crown or head-dress of another: there is a small concavity on the upper surface of the latter in which they place the bones of their dead, from which it may be inferred that they serve at once for idols and funeral pyres. But it

is difficult to understand how they can have set up such superb statues, and maintained them properly balanced on so many small stones as are placed in the base or plinth which sustains their great weight. The material of the statue is very hard stone, and therefore weighty; having tried it myself with a hoe it struck fire: a proof of its density. The crown is of a different stone which is plentiful in the island; but I have not seen any like that of the figure: its workmanship is very crude. The only feature in the configuration of the face is a rough excavation for the eyes: the nostrils are fairly imitated, and the mouth extends from ear to ear, as shown by a slight groove or excavation in the stone. The neck bears some similitude; arms and legs are wanting, and it proceeds from the neck downwards in the form of a rudely fashioned trunk. The diameter of the crown is much greater than that of the head on which it rests, and its lower edge projects greatly beyond the forehead of the figure; a position which excites wonder that it does not fall. I was able to clear up this difficulty on making an examination of another smaller statue from whose head there projected a kind of tenon, constructed to fit into a sort of slot or mortice corresponding to it in the crown; so that by this device the latter is sustained notwithstanding its overlapping the forehead. That a people lacking machinery and materials for constructing any should be able to raise the crown or headpiece on to a statue of such height causes wonder, and I even think that the stone of which the statues are made is not a product of the island, in which iron, hemp, and stout timber are absolutely unknown. Much remains to be worked out on this subject.

On taking geometric measurements of the tallest statue occurring along the beach of this bay I found that it was 52 Castilian feet 6 inches in height, including the crown, which has 4 feet 8 inches of the same measure, but it must

be mentioned that there are others of still greater height in the eastern part of the island. According to the observations of the exploring party there are others widely distributed about the country-side in the interior, which are about 2 or 3 *estados*[1]; and, besides these, innumerable others were met with consisting only of a pyramid or cairn of stones awkwardly piled together, on whose apex was set a round stone washed over with white earth, so as to produce a resemblance to a human skull, from which it may be seen that they have their tombs in these. The sculptured statues are called *Mody* by the natives, who appear to hold them in great veneration, and are displeased when we approach to examine them closely.

They have another effigy or idol clothed and portable which is about four yards [*varas*[2]] in length: it is properly speaking the figure of a Judas, stuffed with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstrations some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it *Copeca*.

This afternoon the natives who were on board the Commodore returned ashore, and our boats followed afterwards with some of the officers and others. Some natives also came on board the frigate, and we made them presents of trifles in the way of clothing and trinkets. We found them to be a very poor and lowly people, whose possessions help to make them so importunate in begging that they become really too annoying. No ornaments of gold, silver,

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[1] 1 *estadal* = four *varas*, or 11 ft. 1½ inches. These statues were therefore, roughly speaking, half the size of the one measured near the beach.

[2] 1 *vara* = nearly a yard.

jewellery, or any other metal, nor any kind of clothes or hardware, were seen among them; from which it may be inferred that they have[1] at present no interchange of goods with any European, Asiatic, or American nation. Their physiognomy does not resemble that of the Indians of the Continent of Chile, Peru, or New Spain in anything, these islanders being in colour between white, swarthy, and reddish, not thick lipped nor flat nosed, the hair chestnut coloured and limp, some have it black, and others tending to red or a cinnamon tint. They are tall, well built and proportioned in all their limbs; and there are no halt, maimed, bent, crooked, luxated, deformed, or bow-legged among them, their appearance being thoroughly pleasing, and tallying with Europeans more than with Indians. I believe, from their docility and intelligence, that it would be easy to domesticate them and to convert them to any religion which might be put before them.

This day and the ensuing night the wind remained very light, from N.E. to N. The heat did not make itself felt much during the daytime, and at night there was little wind or dampness. There are some eddies[2] of current, which enter from the eastward and discharge themselves to the West.

I began to take soundings of the bay this afternoon, and the bottom we met with is not of the best for ensuring the safety of the ships, consisting merely of gravel, sand, shells, coral, and much rock occurring here and there all over the anchorage, especially from the 20 fathom line shorewards.

Saturday, 17th. The wind held light from N.E. to N. To-day great numbers of natives of both sexes came on

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[1] There are some defects in the transcription of the original MS. here: but the sense is plain.

[2] The MS. has here '*revozas*,' perhaps a copyist's error for *refugos*.

board of the two vessels; we found them very straightforward and agreeable, most of them brought plantains, roots, chickens, &c., and readily offered the wretched scraps of clothing and other goods they had about them, until reduced to a miserable loin-cloth of fibre or cotton or some such stuff, with a diadem or crown or plume of cock's feathers or dried sea-weed. The women use the same garments, and, by way of distinguishing their sex, cover the head with a curious construction of palm-leaf [*ojas*] or fine rushes. They are, like the men, importunate at begging; but they all of them yield with the same frankness whatever they possess, and the women go to the length of offering with inviting demonstrations all the homage that an impassioned man can desire. Nor do they appear to transgress, in this, in the opinion of their men; for the latter even tender them by way of paying us attention. As we had no opportunity of enquiring into the methods they observe in regard to marital affairs [*propagacion*] it can only be inferred that the women whom we saw are held in common among them, although we noticed that the older and more important men retain some preference in the matter, as these are always the ones who accompany and make offer of them, and to whom the women render obedience, and not to the younger men, with whom we have never seen them in company. So that one notices a more modest behaviour among the youths and young women than among the elders.

The girls are by temperament modest, since with all their nudity they always manage to cover the breasts &c. as much as possible. The women we saw were much fewer in number than the men; from which it may be supposed that they make use of them in common, or hold their alliances secret, and I think that the more likely because on the afternoon when we came ashore, when passing near to a small hut, we saw some eight women or so all youthful

and not bad looking, accompanied by an old man who only allowed them to expose their heads to look at us. They are all, as a rule, of agreeable aspect and shade of colour, which they modify by means of a very fine pigment of vermilion or red lead, with which they daub their features, although they do not all make use of it. The principal men, or those in authority, paint the whole of their bodies with some herb, or liquor, having a bright red hue, drawing great numbers of lines, pyramids, cocks, and most hideous masks [*rostros feisimos*], but all disposed in such order and symmetry that it would require the most dexterous pencil to imitate them. In particular they figure on the back a maze of convolutions with so much skill that it excited our wonder, not a dot nor a line from right side to left side wanting in regularity. On the vacant parts of the abdomen they depict two fearsome monstrosities [*rostros horrorosos*] which they call *pare*, and I believe they look on them with veneration, but they do not like one to touch them with the hand.

The young people do not paint themselves in this fashion, only a few of them have a collar of the same colour traced round the neck, and depending from it the figure of a small animal resembling a toad, or frog, which they call *cogè*.

The principal men, as well as the women, are extremely addicted to beg, and take with gladness whatever comes to their hands, without making any return; they show no resentment if deprived of their spoils: they are quite content with old rags, ribbons, coloured paper, playing-cards, and other bagatelles. Everything of a bright red colour pleases them greatly, but they despise black; they are so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtains another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved: the most he will do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends.

It appears as if among themselves their goods are held in common, and I believe they conceal as much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any of the things we gave them. We treated them with every consideration, and gave them whatever they asked for. Many of them pronounce with clearness *Ave Maria: Viva Carlos Tercero, Rey de España.* The men are generally of large stature, very many exceeding 8½ spans [*palmos*] of Castile[1] [in height]; most of them attain 8 spans, and there were two whom out of curiosity we measured, one of 9 spans and 2 inches[2], and the other 9 and 3½ inches[3], all their limbs being of proportionate dimensions. The quality and *timbre* of their voice is adapted to pronounce any language with facility; theirs being very similar to Arabic; although for harshness and resonance it is on a par with that of the Lazarones of Naples.

We never saw their bravery put to the test, but I suspect they are faint-hearted; they possess no arms, and although in some we observed sundry wounds on the body, which we thought to have been inflicted by cutting instruments of iron or steel, we found that they proceeded from stones, which are their only [weapons of] defence and offence, and as most of these are sharp edged[4] they produce the injury referred to.

I made a bow and arrow, duly strung, by way of experiment, and on handing it to one of those with the scars he instantly stuck it on his head as an ornament, and then hung it round his neck with much joy, being tótally ignorant of its use and effect.

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[1] The Castilian *palmo* or span is equal to 8⅓ inches. 8½ *palmos* therefore express 6 feet, less an inch.

[2] 6 ft. 5 ins.

[3] 6 ft. 6½ ins.

[4] Obsidian.

They did the same with a knife and with a cutlass, which they took hold of indifferently by the point or by the hilt.

They seem to me to have ministers or priests for their idols; because I observed that on the day which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went accompanying the holy images, clothed in their cassocks and *pelliz*, chanting the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward on to the path and offered their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered.

Sunday, 18th. The natives continued to gather on board in greater number than on the preceding days, so that on this day there have been more than 400 in the frigate. What with men and women they collected in such crowds that it became necessary to send away some in order to make room for others, as we could not contain them on board. To-day at noon I observed the latitude of this bay with the greatest care, which I found to be 27° 26′; and I began on this same day to make a sketch of it, with an outline and views and exact soundings, in order to construct as accurate a chart of it as possible, and one that might serve as a guide and record for the future; though it must be stated that, on account of certain impediments, it was not possible to fix a base-line on shore for trigonometric operations.

Monday, 19th. At 10 in the forenoon our launches came in sight from the eastern part of the island, and our long-boat was told off to give ours a tow, as she had the wind ahead. The Commodore did the same for his. Our launch arrived alongside at one o'clock in the afternoon, with all her people, after having sailed entirely round the island; and the following account was by this means obtained.

The island extends to about 50 miles in circumference; but no harbour capable of affording shelter to a single vessel of moderate burthen was met with. The whole of the shore-line is beset with reefs, cliffs, and rough ground, without containing any spot fit to beach a boat at. On penetrating inland in a few places they met with many natives, with whom they held intercourse, and they observed in them the same manners, customs, and ceremonies as in those of this bay; experiencing among them the same disposition to theft. They saw no kind of wild nor domestic animal, excepting hens and some rats. The fields are uncultivated save some small plots of ground, in which they sow beds of *yuca*, yams, sweet potatoes, and several plantations of plantains and sugar-cane: but all very tasteless, as if from want of cultivation. They did not find any metal, nor any ornaments of that kind in the natives' habitations. All this account tallies with the observations we have gathered in this bay, on whose slopes, and on those throughout the island, not a single tree is to be found capable of furnishing a plank so much as six inches in width; but there are plenty of shrubs or brush-wood of a sort little more than an *estada*[1] in height, which offer little obstruction to one in passing as they are not dense and have no prickles. Its trees are very similar to mimosas and tamarinds. Of fruit-bearing trees I have seen only some very small figs, but so different from ours that they are recognisable as such only by the scent of the leaf, and the white juice which exudes from them. It is certain that they bear fruit, because the natives were eating some dry figs on board, which we gave them from those of Mendoza, and they called them *gecoy*. The island is destitute of every kind of bird: not a single bird has been

[1] An *estadal* or *estada* is equivalent to four *varas* of about 33 inches each, *i.e.* 11 feet.

seen in it. Even the marine species do not settle on its shores nor fly within sight of it: the same is the case with regard to beetles, insects, &c.

Most of the natives of the island dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rock, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet and the head last. The more polished or powerful persons, whether in virtue of their age or of authority, are held in esteem. These inhabit small huts covered with reeds [*totora*], and constructed in the form of a large tunnel, in whose bilge or bellying portion [*vientre ò bariga*] is the entrance, after the manner of a trap-door for cats' egress, so narrow that only one man can pass in or out at a time, and that with effort. Others (whom I believe to be their ministers) occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface of ground to another on different levels. It is known that they work the stone, on which may be seen several different figures, squares, oblongs, arcs [*rumbos*], triangles, and trapezia, by means of another stone of harder substance than the mass, and the same method is followed, I believe, in fashioning the statues.

On the afternoon of this day during a rain squall with little wind from the S.W. our cable parted, having chafed completely through against a coral rock, fragments of which came up embedded among the strands of the two broken ends. We spent the evening in making ready for the succeeding day, on which we were to formally disembark and take possession of the island, and to erect upon it three crosses which had been got ready for the purpose on board the Commodore.

Tuesday, 20th. The day dawned with the horizon overcast, the wind light from E.S.E. with occasional gusts; but the Commodore decided to carry into effect the projected expedition notwithstanding, and to this end 250 men, troops and seamen, were detached to go ashore, well armed and under the command of Don Alberto Olaondo, senior lieutenant and captain of marines, with other officers and subalterns, and instructions to pass inland towards the western side of the island in order to make a reconnaissance of the country-side thereabouts, and to draw the attention of the natives in that direction while the three aforementioned crosses were being set up on three hillocks which are at the eastern end.

This precaution was not taken through any fear that the natives might offer opposition to the execution [of our project] but only in order to avoid the tumult with which they proceed about all their operations, as they would have been so much in our way as to considerably retard us. While the launches and boats conveyed the first section of people to the shore, the second batch was being got ready, consisting of a similar number, and commanded by Don Buenaventura Moreno, senior lieutenant and captain of marines, with the necessary officers, amongst whom I was included by the Commodore's order, for the purpose of establishing proper marks and bases for the construction of the most exact plan and truest coast-line of this bay, and for fixing the positions of the most noticeable heights of the island.

When the boats of the first party returned we set out in the same order, escorted by troops from this frigate, accompanying the three crosses with colours flying and drums beating. In this manner, and in excellent order, we arrived at a small bay which lies to the eastward, and had been selected for the disembarkation as possessing the only convenient expanse of beach in all the roadstead. We landed here without meeting with any obstacle, and

were received by a considerable gathering of natives, who manifested much merriment, with a great deal of yelling. On the party forming up, together with those bearing arms, we set out on the march, accompanied by the natives, who lent a willing hand in carrying the crosses, singing and dancing in their fashion as they went. We made the whole circuit of the bay with some pains, for the ground was rough and rugged, although level, a great retinue of natives collecting round us all the while as far as the foot of the rise, where the most part of them quitted us on account of the troublesome and protracted nature of the ascent. At half-past one we arrived at the place at which the crosses were to be set up, and this was concluded with full rejoicings, after the benediction and adoration of the holy images, by the whole concourse of people, on seeing which the natives went through the same ceremony.

On the crosses being planted on their respective hill-tops the Spanish ensign was hoisted, and the troops being brought to 'Attention!' under arms, D[n] Joseph Bustillo, junior Captain, took possession of the island of San Carlos with the accustomed ceremonies in the name of the King of Spain, our lord and master Don Carlos the Third, this day, the 20th of November, 1770. The procedure was duly witnessed with the proper formalities; and for the greater confirmation of so serious an act some of the natives present signed or attested the official document by marking upon it certain characters in their own form of script[1]. Then we cheered the king seven times, next to which followed a triple volley of musketry from the whole party, and, lastly, our ships saluted with 21 guns. The function being concluded, and all hands mustered up in marching order, we returned to the same place where we disembarked, and where our launches and boats were in attendance. In these we were conveyed on board, and all

[1] See the Plate at p. 48.

the officers in succession thereupon offered their felicitations and congratulations to the Commodore, who then fixed the following day for their departure from the bay, in consequence of his mission there being now happily concluded.

Wednesday, 21st. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon (being all ready to get under way and expecting the Commodore to make the signal) our cable parted close to the ring of the anchor; and the wind being fresh we made sail in order to avoid being driven on to the rocks or risking another anchor. As soon as we had gained an offing we hove to to await the Commodore, who joined company with us at two o'clock in the afternoon, and we set our course W. ¼ N.W., coasting along the north side of the island and proceeding in search of the other one shown on the Dutch chart of Wam Keullena[1] in the same latitude. At four o'clock the western point of the island of San Carlos bore S., distant about 4 leagues, and I took my departure from that position, fixing the latitude as 27° 16′, and the longitude 266° 50′. At sundown the said point bore S.W. ¼ S.[2] We continued all night with a moderate breeze from E. and E.S.E.: backing at times.

Thursday, 22nd. Lat. by observation 26° 58′, long. 265° 26′. Course 76°, 3rd quadt. Distance 76½ miles. Wind from the 2nd quadt. We continued lying to at night, and during the daytime we kept on under a pressure of canvas.

Friday, 23rd. Lat. by observation 27° 5′, long. 263° 38′. Course 85° 45′, 3rd quadt. Distance 95 miles: wind from the 2nd quadt., fresh. At noon we reckoned ourselves

[1] Evidently meant for Van Keulen, the well known chartographer, and publisher of *De Nieuwe groote lichtende Zee-fakkel*: Amsterdam, 1728.

[2] Probably an error for S.E. ¼ S.

60 leagues to the westward of the island of San Carlos, and the Commodore altered his course to S.S.E. in quest of another new island which they say lies in lat. 38° 30′ and long. 269°. There seemed to be no use in going any farther to the West, as no indication of land was met with, and especially in that we had no orders to proceed on that discovery.

Saturday, 24th. Lat. by observation 29° 03′, long. 264° 05′. Course 11° 45′, 2nd quadt. Distance 122 miles: wind 2nd quadt., fine.

Sunday, 25th. Lat. by observation 30° 41′, long. 264° 34′. Course 15° 15′, 2nd quadt. Distance 88 miles: wind 1st and 2nd quadt.

Monday, 26th. Lat. by reckoning 32° 30′, long 265° 37′. Course 15°, 2nd quadt. Distance 112 miles: wind 4th quadt., with rain squalls.

Tuesday, 27th. Lat. by observation 34° 48′, long. 266° 16′. Course 13° 30′, 2nd quadt. Distance 142 miles: wind *idem.*

Wednesday, 28th. Lat. by observation 36° 10′, long. 266° 49′. Course 18°, 2nd quadt. Distance 88 miles: wind 3rd and 4th quadt.

Thursday, 29th. Lat. by observation 37° 49′, long. 266° 59′. Course 4° 30′, 2nd quadt. Distance 110 miles: wind *idem.* At five in the afternoon of this day we reached the parallel of the supposed island, and the Commodore altered the course, and heading homewards, as the island should bear at that hour East, distant about 45 leagues. We saw many birds this afternoon, like fish-hawks [*quebrantaguesos*], petrels [*pardelas*], and others: we still lay to always at night.

Friday, 30th. Lat. by observation 38° 32′, long. 269° 10′. Course 67° 15, 2nd quadt. Distance 111 miles: wind 4th quadt., fresh.

DECEMBER.....Saturday, 1st. Lat. by observation.

38° 24′, long. 271° 16′. Course 86° 30′, 1st quadt. Distance 100 miles: wind 3rd and 4th quadt., squally.

Sunday, 2nd. Lat. by observation 38° 24′, long. 272° 36′. Course 88° 30′, 1st quadt. Distance 73 miles: wind *idem*, with a rough sea.

Monday, 3rd. Lat. by reckoning 38° 4′, long. 274° 13′. Course 76° 30′, 1st quadt. Distance 86 miles: wind and sea the same. Many sea-fowl of all descriptions were seen; and a strong and cold wind, with rain and a very coarse sea, made itself felt.

Tuesday, 4th. Lat. by dead reckoning 38° 13′, long. 275° 34′. Course 83° 15′, 2nd quadt. Distance 80 miles, wind and sea the same.

Wednesday, 5th. Lat. by dead reckoning 38° 29′, long. 278° 6′. Course 83°, 2nd quadt. Distance 126 miles: wind and sea the same.

Thursday, 6th. Lat. by dead reckoning 38° 31′, long. 280° 32′. Course E. Distance 114 miles: wind from 3rd quadt., showers, but not so cold. On this day we found ourselves 190 leagues to the east of the island we were in search of, having run down more than 230 leagues on its parallel while looking for it, without having observed any indication of land.

Friday, 7th. Lat. by observation 38° 35′, long. 282°. Course E. Distance 68½ miles: wind 2nd and 3rd quadt., calm at times.

Saturday, 8th. Lat. by dead reckoning 38° 44′, long. 282° 29′. Course 68° 30′, 2nd quadt. Distance 26 miles: light airs from 1st and 4th quadt.

Sunday, 9th. Lat. by observation 39° 40′, long. 283° 55′. Course 50°, 2nd quad. Distance 89 miles: wind 4th quad., fresh, sea rough. We gave up searching for the island and headed for Chiloe.

Monday, 10th. Lat. by observation 41° 21′, long.

256° 53′. Course 53° 30′, 2nd quad. Distance 170 miles: wind 4th quad., cold; sea *idem.*

Tuesday, 11th. Lat. by observation 41° 36′, long. 290° 32′. Course 84°, 2nd quad. Distance 164 miles: wind and sea the same.

Wednesday, 12th. Lat. by dead reckoning 41° 34′, long. 294° 13′. Course E. 2° N.E. Distance 167 miles: wind and sea *idem.* This day I found myself 120 leagues to the west of Chiloe.

Thursday, 13th. Lat. by observation 41° 38′, long. 298° 14′. Course E. Distance 179½ miles: wind 3rd quadt., the sea less rough. I found myself 61[1] leagues west Chiloe. It feels pretty cold with the wind from the 3rd quadt.

Friday, 14th. Lat. by dead reckoning 41° 46′, long. 301° 11′. Course 86° 30′, 2nd quadt. Distance 132 miles: wind from the West, gusty and very thick. I found myself 18 leagues W. from the island of Chiloe. At half-past five in the afternoon, when believing myself eight leagues off the land, the horizon cleared a little, and Cocotoia point in the said island came into view, bearing East, about 5 leagues distant. As it was late in the day and the horizon was much obscured we did not proceed for the channel, but continued standing off and on all night, with a moderate breeze from the 3rd and 4th quadt.

Saturday, 15th. We came to an anchor in the new harbour of San Carlos in the island of Chiloe, after twenty-four days of navigation from the island of San Carlos we discovered, and sixty-seven from our departure from the Callao.

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[1] He had sailed 179½ miles (=60 leagues) since the previous noon: this figure is obviously an error in the MS.—for 60, therefore.

A DICTIONARY of some Words and Terms illustrative of the language of the inhabitants of the Island of *San Carlos* (*alias* David) which I have been able to search out, making use of signs, demonstrations, and figures shewn by drawings: as follows:—

Hair ...	... Coojo	Air ...	... Tetuba
Eyebrows	... Geijio	Water	... Canocona
Eyes ...	... Comata	Land ...	... Genua
Eyelashes	... Coveque-ve-que	Hills ...	... Gemauma
		Fire ...	... Cotierpe
Nostrils	... Coiju	Smoke	... Puina
Mouth	... Coaja	Sky ...	... Gerani
Tongue	... Corero	Sun ...	... Gera
Teeth ...	... Conijo	Moon ...	... Magina
Lips ...	... Conuto	Stars ...	... Getu
Cheeks	... Cococumo	The ocean	... Geray
Chin ...	... Cocoba	Hut or dwelling	Geveca
Ears ...	... Cotarina	Calabash to contain water	... Geracona
Beard	... Covere		
Neck ...	... Conao	Saliva	... Coano
Head ...	... Coray	Mucus	... Coupe
Buttocks	... Couju	Arms ...	... Corima
Muscles	... Cotumo	Hands	... Comanga-manga
Knees	... Coturi		
Leg ...	... Gebae	Fingers	... Comanga-manga
Calf ...	... Coique		
Heel ...	... Coreque	Nails ...	... Comaicucu
Foot ...	... Magamaga	Breast	... Coùma
Man (homo) ...	Cotajata	Nipples	... Coù
Young woman	Cotataqui	Stomach	... Coqueo
Old woman ...	Copocopoco	Belly ...	... Cotino
Hen ...	... Comoa	Back ...	... Cotuorbi
Banana	... Cocay	Umbilicus	... Copito
Figs ...	... Gecoy	Groin ...	... Coputo
Stone idols ...	Moay	Genitalia	... Gemaropao
Clothed idols	Copeca	Canoe or ship	Gebaca
Idols with bodies painted	... Pare	Priest of the idol	Maca Maca
		To dance	... Viritejue
High chief or lord	Tequeteque	Music	... Toro-Toro-Toro
A good or pretty thing	... Cariba	To sit down	... Canojo
		To stand up	... Comaro
An ugly or contemptible thing	Macariba	To stroll	... Gejaere

To be silent ...	Comou	To drink ...	Cauno
To dismiss a person	Catajuti	Yes	E
To swim ...	Gecau	No	Ma
To kiss ...	Cogimi	You	Cocoa
To embrace ...	Cajai	One	Coyana
To sleep ...	Geuru	Two	Corena
To awaken ...	Geura	Three ...	Cogojui
To look at, listen	Arà	Four	Quiroqui
To wish for anything ...	Conoro	Five	Majana
Not to desire it	Maconoro	Six	Feuto
To eat ...	Cacay	Seven ...	Fegea
To quarrel or fight	Gecacai	Eight	Moroqui
		Nine	Vijoviri
		Ten	Queromata

On the 18th the Commodore held a council of all the officers and the pilots of both ships, at which also the Governor of this island was present with his serjeant-major. Questions relating to our expedition were dealt with, and it was by common accord decided to hold over the examination of the island of *La Madre de Dios*, in view of the obvious dangers we should be running without having any coastal pilot acquainted with the locality, and to warn the higher Government that in the opinion of the council the vessels should not be risked without a clear conception as to the outcome of the undertaking.

We were also all agreed that we should await the return of two piraguas which had sailed from this port with orders to make an examination of the island of Inchin, its harbour or roadstead, and the Inlet of Diego Gallego. Should they not arrive within the time they might be expected to, three others were to be fitted out with the same object, manned by crews from among the people of these vessels and under the command of some of our officers, with a few Chilote paddlers, and native pilots of the Chonos Archipelago and Guaytecas. Meanwhile we would occupy ourselves in replenishing our stock of wood and water.

The rains in this country are incessant, and the wind

always hung at S.W. to N.W. until the 26th, when we got the first Southerly wind; and it was the only day on which the rain gave us a truce—but on the 27th it settled down again to rain, and continued to do so until the end of the month, and of the year.

On the 28th we received news that the piraguas which had been despatched to Inchin were on their return journey; and on the 29th the officer in charge of them arrived by land, with the information that he had thoroughly examined the harbour of that name, and the Inlet of Diego Gallego, with all their ins and outs, without having met with any settlement, nor any vestige of enemies in those parts. He felt assured that it would not be possible for any nation to colonise the country in question, and that no person could seek out its coast unless he were a lunatic or a castaway. With this announcement the projected expedition was given up; and we set about receiving on board certain logs of timber which were to be conveyed to Callao.

On the 1st and 2nd days of January, 1771, the wind held from S.W. to S. without rain; but on the 3rd it resumed its accustomed direction, and continued. On the 4th nevertheless the downpour took off. We all went on board and got ready to put to sea at the first favourable moment.

On the 5th the rain continued still more copiously, and the wind varied from S.W. to W.

On the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th it rained incessantly, as well as during the nights, and the wind remained in the 4th quadt

[*The Journal ends here.*]

NARRATIVE[1]

OF

THE EXPEDITION UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCY DON MANUEL DE AMAT, VICEROY OF PERU,

IN THE SHIP SAN LORENZO

AND THE FRIGATE SANTA ROSALIA,

FROM THE HARBOUR OF EL CALLAO DE LIMA

TO THE

ISLAND OF DAVID,

in 1770.

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[1] Probably from the pen of Sub-Lieut. Don Juan Hervé, First Pilot, or senior Navigating Officer, of the *San Lorenzo*.

NARRATIVE

of the Expedition undertaken from the Port of The Callao to the ISLAND OF DAVID by order of His Excellency Señor Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru *etc.*, who for that purpose gave instructions to prepare H.M. ship of the line *San Lorenzo*, under the command of Commodore Don Felipe Gonzalez, and the frigate *Santa Rosalia*, under Captain Don Antonio Domonte, which sailed on the 10th of October, 1770, taking for their point of departure lat. 12° S., and long. 298° 30′ from the meridian of Tenerife.

On the 24th of the said month we found ourselves in lat. 27° and long. 283° 31′: we had the wind aft and were heading W., corrected, in accordance with the orders and instructions which our Commodore held, by which he was also to lie to every night so soon as we should arrive at the meridian beyond which he had not passed in his many other voyages.

On the 10th of November, at 6 o'clock in the morning, we saw for the first time some five or so birds known as black petrels[1]; and at that hour we were in lat. 27° and long. 268° 20′. Later on we saw three of the birds they

[1] The term here used is *pardelas prietas*. Caballero, in his *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* (Bibliog. no. 12), defines *pardela* as a South American bird something larger than a dove, or pigeon, which flies to a great distance from land, and soars high. Lorenzo and his collaborateurs in the *Diccionario Marítimo Español* (Bibliog. no. 33) have adopted the same description. Experience and other references (among whom Frézier, who calls them in French *damiers* and mentions their black and white plumage and pigeon-like flight) point to the probability of the sooty petrel or the Cape pigeon, being here meant; and the voyagers would be likely to begin to meet with either of these birds about the latitude mentioned when sailing southwards.

call *tixeretas*[1], on account of the way they have of imparting to their tails an opening and closing movement like scissor blades.

On the 11th we saw a great abundance of other birds during the afternoon.

On the 13th the aforementioned birds were seen in still greater numbers, and among them one kind all white, about the size of a cinnamon dove such as they call *tereques*[2]: the other ones, terns, screamed in the air like parrokeets. On this day at noon we were in lat. 27° 4′, and long. 265° 32′. The variation of the needle was here observed to be 3° 16′ N.E.[3]

On the 14th we found ourselves, at half-past seven in the morning, with very little wind, and made a signal to the frigate for her captain and such officers as could be spared to come on board of us, which, however, they asked permission to defer until after they had breakfasted; when we all, from both vessels, assembled together in the chief cabin. Our Commodore then directed, in the presence of all, that the instructions and commands which he held from the Viceroy be read aloud by the paymaster of this ship, which was done. He then stated, before all, that although his orders only required him to go as far as long. 264° yet nevertheless he was minded to continue on while so many birds remained in sight, and that he had called us all together in order that we should communicate our views to

[1] The *tixereta*, or as spelt now-a-days *tijereta*, is the tern, probably the common white tern of the Pacific Ocean, *Gygis candida*. The Spanish word for scissors is *tijeras*: whence *tijeretear*, to clip. Our sailors usually, but unscientifically, call these birds 'sea-swallows.' They might well be styled 'clipper birds,' both on account of their shears-like tails and wing-tips, and of their graceful form and speedy flight.

[2] The *tereque* or *terek* appears to be the godwit—*Scolopax terek*, according to M. Charles D'Orbigny in his *Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire Natural* (Bibliog. no. 42); or, as quoted by Lesson, *Limicula indiana*. It belongs to a sub-genus of the Limosae.

[3] Or, as we should express it by the English Method, 3° 16′ Easterly.

him. All agreed in the Commodore's opinion, since it coincided with their own. At half-past two in the afternoon those of the frigate returned on board of her, and we resumed our course as before.

On this same day, at six in the evening, some sandpipers appeared[1]. These birds are accustomed to fly no more than about fifteen leagues from land; and we remained hove to for the night.

On the 15th at five in the morning we made all sail, and at seven o'clock we sighted an island to the N.W. of us, from 8 to 10 leagues distant. We headed for it, and upon finding ourselves within some three leagues of its Eastern coast we saw it to be all bold and rock-bound, on account of which at noon we decided to bear up for the Northern side and see whether we might find any harbour round there. At this time our position was ascertained by observation to be in lat. 27° 15′ S. and long. 264° 20′, so that the other point[2] should be in 27° 06′ of lat. South, and therefore 34° 10′ to the westward of the meridian of Callao, measured by the arc, or the equivalent of a chord of 30° 30′. On this island we bestowed the name of San Carlos, being that of the reigning king.

From the 6th of November[3], which was the day on which we sighted the petrels, until we reached the island of San Carlos, we steered W. a distance of 86 leagues, and the terns were seen for the same distance at the same time.

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[1] For 'sandpipers' the MS. has *chorlitos*, a name which is variously given in dictionaries and works on natural history as sandpipers, waders, curlew, plover, redshanks, and the genus *Longirostres* generally. M. D'Orbigny (Bibliog. no. 42) mentions a 'Chorlite des Indes,' *Rhynchoea alba*: and says *chorlito* is a name given freely in Spain to any of the 'chevaliers' and 'échassiers,' which we generically term waders.

[2] i.e. the N.E. point of the island.

[3] This may be a copyist's error. The day on which the petrels were recorded was the 10th. Agüera mentions them on the 12th as having been met with on the previous day, in his journal. Gonzalez himself does not mention them in his log.

From the 13th of the said month, when we saw so many birds, and amongst them the white ones and the first of these, we continued sailing W. for a distance of 32 leagues; and from the time we saw the sandpipers [*chorlitos*] as far as the island we sailed 10 leagues, so that when we saw them the island lay to the N.W. of us, 13½ leagues off, for which reason we sailed on that course after having sighted the sandpipers and the island: these remarks are interesting only for navigators.

On the 15th, after bearing up at noon in quest of a harbour on the north side of the island we noticed, as we closed in with the land, that there were people on shore who were making signals to us by means of smoke, in several parts of this new land; and when we had rounded the north-easternmost point, called after San Felipe, we saw a bay which appeared might prove a good harbour, being then about half a league distant; and we lowered a boat into the water. I embarked in her with Don Alberto Lesuda[1], Captain of Marines, a serjeant, six men, the boat duly equipped, and all hands provided with their respective arms, proceeding with the precaution and care appropriate to the business in hand.

We went in to take soundings of the bay without being acquainted with the character of the natives, or whether they possessed canoes or not. We left the ship at a quarter

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[1] The officer here meant by 'Lesuda,' and in a place where cited farther on as 'Leonda,' is Don Alberto Olaondo, whose substantive rank was that of Teniente de Navio, or a senior Lieutenant in the Navy, although, by a not unusual complication of dignities in that service he was also a Capitan de Infanteria, or as we should say, an officer of Marines. He subsequently received promotion, and in 1779 when war was declared with England he commanded the *Atlante*, a 70 gun ship of the line which formed one of the fleet under the Marqués de Casa Tilly assembled in the Bay of Cadiz to oppose Rodney. His old Easter Island comrades Don Antonio Domonte, and Don Buenaventura Moreno, were also present there, commanding the *San Eugenio* and the *San Nicolas* respectively, each of 70 guns. [Travieso, Bibliog. no. 50.]

past three in the afternoon, and proceeded to take soundings shorewards. We got no bottom until quite close in, where I found thirty fathoms; and from thence to the beach a very foul bottom of rocks, gravel, and coral; from thirty to forty fathoms I found coarse sand, but with a few large round stones: this might serve [to bring up in] nevertheless for a short time, while searching for a better anchorage.

At the time we set about taking soundings the frigate's boat came along for the same purpose, in which was Don Buenaventura Moreno, Captain of Marines, similarly armed and equipped; and when we drew close in to the shore taking soundings, we saw several natives of the country on the beach shouting to us in their language, of which we understood nothing. These were naked, and painted, body and face. When I had made an examination of the bottom I returned on board my ship, and the other boat to hers: I explained the quality of the ground to the Commodore, and having arrived somewhere about 6 o'clock in the evening he decided not to move away from the place until the following day[1].

On the 16th at half-past five in the morning I started away from the ship's side in the cutter, and proceeded to take up a position where the boat anchorage was, to serve as a mark for the ship, which came in and let go in 35½ fathoms, coarse sand; and having laid out another anchor in 50 fathoms, she swung to with 28 under the keel, same bottom. The leading marks for this position are the small saddle-shaped hill bearing S. 3° W., with Cape San Lorenzo E. ¼ S.E. 3° E. by the needle, which in this locality has 3° of variation N.E.

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[1] This sentence, taken by itself, sufficiently proves that the author of this journal was an officer of the *San Lorenzo*, and not of the frigate.

While acting as a beacon as above stated and awaiting the arrival of the ship, three of the natives swam off, [their bodies] painted in various colours, and keeping near the boat, shouting constantly, until one of them came at last so close as to present me with a morsel of yam: I gave him some biscuit and tobacco, all of which he accepted. He carried his provisions in a satchel neatly plaited of fine straw. When the ship came to an anchor these three went off ashore again, but returned with another swimming and making straight for the ship, on board of which they climbed with much agility, shouting all the while and exhibiting much gayness of spirit. They ran about freely from stem to stern, and full of mirth, climbing about the rigging like sailormen. [Our people] played the *coxa* and fife to them, and they began to dance, evincing great pleasure. They were given ribbons, shirts, trousers, seamen's jumpers, and small gilt metal crosses: they accepted them all with gladness, the biscuit they received without remark until they saw our people eat some. It pleased them well and then they asked for it, and applied themselves freely to the consumption of salt pork and rice, &c.

On the said 16th of November we embarked at one o'clock in the day, Don Cayetano Lángara, senior lieutenant, Don Pedro Obregon, midshipman, a serjeant, a corporal of marines, a gunner, some marines and myself, in the launch, fully armed and equipped for service, with orders to make a complete circuit of the island in company with the *Rosalia's* launch, with her officer Don Demetrio Ezeta, senior lieutenant, each one fitted with a swivel gun in the bows. We set to work to take soundings, giving names to the points, bays, &c., as shown on the plan of the island. At half-past six in the evening we brought to in a cove which we called after Lángara: we tried to effect a landing but this was not practicable as the sea was breaking with such force all along the shore, which was rocky at all

points; and during the remainder of the day the only place we found fit to land at was the cove of San Juan, as it had a sandy beach. We did not disclose our presence there, in order not to lose time. We considered that it must have a plentiful supply of fresh water, because we saw there more gravel [*chacaras*] than in any other part of the island. We also found the best anchorage for ships.

On the 17th of the said [month], day dawned with the horizon clear, and a moderate breeze from the Eastward. At five in the morning we got under way in both launches and made sail towards the Cape of San Antonio. Half a league before reaching the cape we came abreast of a point, off which were a quantity of rocks or boulders sticking up out of the water; and saw that two little canoes were coming out from among them with two men in each, making for the *Santa Rosalia's* launch; so we waited for them in order that they might join our party. They gave the people of the said launch plantains, Chili peppers, sweet potatoes and fowls; and in return our men gave them hats, *chamorretas*, &c., and they went off contentedly with these to the shore. These canoes are constructed of five extremely narrow boards (on account of there being no thick timber in the country) about a *cuarta*[1] in width; they are consequently so crank that they are provided with an outrigger to prevent them from capsizing; and I think that these are the only ones in the whole of the island. They are fitted together with wooden pegs in place of nails. Then we passed on to examine the rocky islets to which we gave the name of 'Lángara': they lie S.W. ¼S. from the cape of San Cristoval, the seaward one being about a mile off that headland, and the inshore one in between. They are about half a cable apart the one from

[1] A *cuarta* is a quarter of a *vara* or yard, and may be roughly translated a 'span.'

the other, and we found 26 fathoms there, rocky bottom. The middle one resembles a high church tower; we attempted to gain a footing on it, but found it little accessible. We passed on to the outer one, where we succeeded in landing, and on which we found two large masses of seaweed, many black flints, some sea urchins and small crabs, eggs of sea-gulls and their fledgelings. On these rocks alone did we see any sea-gulls, and excepting fowls we saw no other kind of birds on either of the other islets, nor on the island of San Carlos, either small or large, wild or domesticated. The islanders breed these fowls in little runs scraped out in the ground and thatched over.

Having made an investigation of these islets we pursued our course along the coast, at times under sail, at other times under oars; and, the wind holding contrary, at three o'clock in the afternoon we stood in towards a smooth patch of foreshore about a league away to the N.E. of Cape San Francisco. Here we decided to bring up for the night in a small bay which appeared to us to be a suitable place for the purpose, and to which we gave the appellation of the Cave, because there was one adjoining the beach at this place with furrows in it of various tints, from which the natives gave us to understand by signs they obtained the pigments with which they paint themselves. This bay is only suitable for launches. We all went ashore to eat our dinner, which we carried with us for that purpose, and some hundred or so natives came to look on, offering us fruits and hens. The officer, Don Cayetano de Lángara, issued orders to our people that no one, under pain of a severe flogging, should accept any article from the islanders without giving some equivalent in return, or something of greater value than that which they received, since it was known there was a disposition to exchange articles; and such in fact was put into practice.

When we sat down to eat we noticed that they all withdrew, and that only one remained, as if to watch; I ordered my servant to give this one a little cooked rice and salt pork, all of which he ate and found much to his taste. When we had finished dinner we betook ourselves for a stroll on the island: our people were again warned to do no injury to the natives nor to their plantations. When we had walked up the slope of the beach we found all those whom we had previously seen, and we passed over in a body without saying anything to them until they, putting aside their shyness, came close up to our people and conducted us to see a long dwelling-house which was about a quarter of a league off. This house was 27 paces in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high at the centre, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ *varas* at the ends, more or less; and at the middle part was a doorway 1 *vara* in height. It was framed on some six poles of 4 *varas* long, and a span[1] in thickness. After having shown us this sumptuous edifice, they began to sing and to dance by way of paying us a compliment and being very happy at seeing us. We walked about two leagues, and at that distance (throughout which many islanders accompanied us) we saw a plantain garden which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth. There were other small plantain gardens, and several plantations and fields of sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, white gourds, and plants like those whose leaves are employed at the Callao for making mats. We saw a root which they chew and daub their bodies and limbs all over with: it is good for yielding a very fine yellow dye[2]. At dusk we made back to our launches to stay the night, without our peaceful relations with the natives having been

[1] *Un* '*xeme*,' i.e. *jeme*, the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger.

[2] No doubt this refers to turmeric—a common plant in most Pacific islands.

in any way disturbed, which may be attributed to the order which the officer gave our men not to give them any offence, backed by the threat of a flogging, without which our marines and seamen would have destroyed these poor wretches' plantations.

The morning of the 18th broke fine, with the wind from North: we continued along the coast, which is all surf-bound, sounding as we went. At 8 o'clock the frigate's launch, not being able to make any headway against the wind, put into a small bay to wait for it to calm down; and we ourselves reached the cove of the Campana[1] under oars at 5 in the afternoon, in order to stay there the night. We stepped ashore there and some islanders came to receive us, but a shower of rain made us turn back to our launch for the night. On that side of this cove towards the headland of San Felipe a rock shaped like a bell juts out from the shore, and from this the cove derives its name.

We made sail at daybreak on the 19th with the wind at N. and fine weather, for the headland of San Felipe, where we were joined by the other launch, who reported that they had no news. At this time we were battling with the current, against which we were not able to make any headway with the oars, and which was running to the eastward. The frigate's launch, being smaller than ours, was able to get along better than we, and those on board seeing us contending against the persistence of the current, sent us the cutter with a fresh crew to relieve our men, who were done up. Yet the current made itself felt with such force that after pulling from 9 a.m. until 6 o'clock in the evening we had scarcely made one league of distance from Cape San Felipe. At this hour, however, God favoured us with a thunder squall accompanied by rain and a change of wind from N.W. to S.E., which brought us alongside at half-past seven

[1] i.e. Bell cove=*Caleta de la Campana.*

o'clock, thus terminating our expedition without other adventures than already related.

We were satisfied that the roadstead in which we lay at anchor is the best the whole island affords, excepting that of San Juan, to which we did not remove, as we should so soon be leaving this country again, inasmuch as there only remained for us to take possession of it in the name of the King.

On the 20th, at daybreak, all the seamen bearing arms embarked in the launches and cutters of both vessels, under Don Alberto Olaondo[1], Captain of Marines, with his party of marines and those from the frigate, who together made up 250 men. All these proceeded towards the interior of the island to survey the country. Our Commander [*segundo capitan*], Don José Bustillos[2], went with another body of marines and seamen, and the two chaplains, who conveyed with them three crosses to be erected on three hill-tops which, as may be seen on the Plan, exist at the N.E. point of the island.

A great number of the native inhabitants received them on landing, and offered to assist our officers in the disembarkation, which, in fact, they did; and took charge of the three crosses, which they carried up to the said hills: the chaplains chanting Litanies, and the islanders joining with our people in the responses, *ora pro nobis*. At the moment of digging the hole on the centre hill, a fine spring of fresh water broke out, very good and abundant. The crosses being planted the party fired three volleys of musketry, and the ships replied with twenty-one guns each, to the joyful shout of *Viva el Rey*. The islanders responded with our own people; they pronounce with such ease that they repeat whatever is said to them just like ourselves. This undertaking being achieved we all returned on board.

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[1] 'Leonda' in the MS.; evidently Capt. Olaondo is again meant.

[2] 'José Gustillo' in the MS.; evidently Josef Bustillos is intended.

It need not be said that the islanders were terrified at the noise of the gunfire and musketry: that must happen to people who have not used or seen such inventions.

The women made use of wraps or cloaks: one which covers them from the waist downwards, and another about the breasts. There are others also who wear only a rag or strip of some root, which they place in front like the men. They have several very low and small huts, and some like the one first mentioned.

Throughout the island, but especially near the sea-beach, there are certain huge blocks of stone in the form of the human figure. They are some twelve yards in height, and I think they are their idols. They could not bear to see us smoke cigars: they begged our sailors to extinguish them and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what this meant or what he wished to say.

I fancy that the cloaks or wraps of the said islanders are made from the fibres of stems of the banana plant, which, when dry, they put together as may suit their purpose[1]: it is not woven, but is joined together by strands of the same material which they thread on bone needles of the size of a cloak-maker's needle. They make fishing-lines of this same fibre, as well as nets after the fashion of our small nets; but of little strength.

They have very little wood; but if they were to plant trees there would be no lack of it; and I believe that even

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[1] The material was really the white inner bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonettia papyrifera*); and the thread used for attaching the segments together was probably made from the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* bark. A Spanish naval officer may well be excused for falling into this error, as the employment of the fibre of *Musa textilis*, known to him as *abacá* and to ourselves as 'Manila hemp,' would doubtless have come under his observation in the Philippine Islands; and perhaps his running rigging may have been made of it even in those days.

the cotton plant would yield, as the country is very temperate: and wheat, garden plants, pot-herbs, &c. They dye their cloaks yellow.

The number of the inhabitants, including both sexes, will be from about nine hundred to a thousand souls: and of these very few indeed are women,—I do not believe they amount to seventy—and but few boys. They are in hue like a quadroon, with smooth hair and short beards, and they in no way resemble the Indians of the South American continent; and if they wore clothing like ourselves they might very well pass for Europeans. They eat very little, and have few needs: they do altogether without liquor of any kind.

On the 21st at noon we put to sea from this Island of David: we sailed some 70 leagues to the Westward to see whether any more land lay in that direction.

On the 23rd we hauled to the Southward until we reached the lat. 38° 30′ and long. 263° 31′, where we arrived on the 29th. On this track, on the 24th, in lat. 29° 30′, long. 261° 30′ at 6 in the afternoon, we saw ten or twelve white birds, and terns, and again some godwits, an indication of some island. The Commodore decided not to search for it at this juncture, deeming that the time was already short for going to Chiloe, and intending to look for it on the return voyage as the latitude was one in which the quest might be pursued at any season of the year.

From the longitude of 263° 31′ we stood away East as far as 281° along the parallel of 38½°, without meeting with any sign; and from that position we proceeded to Chiloe.

[Here this Journal ends; but a note is appended to it in one of the two MS. copies at the Academy of History, to the following effect:—

"This is a copy of the one which the aged Captain and Pilot of these seas, Don Domingo Josef Vasqués, had in

his keeping, on old paper, in a very small French-looking handwriting, and in grey ink. The narrative agrees entirely with another in a different handwriting, written four years after the exploration of the island, which was in the possession of Don Bartholomé de la Parra, a very old resident in this city, with the difference that Parra's copy concludes by saying, "This information relates to the Island of David (now called after San Carlos) which lies in lat. S. 27° 06′ and in long. 264° 20′ from the meridian of Tenerife. On board the frigate *Nŭra. Sŭra. de la Soledád*, 26th of August, 1774."—It agrees with the plan of the said island which I got more than 30 years ago, drawn during the expedition, and which we forwarded to the Hydrographic Office by H.M. ship *Asia* in January, 1815. And although the author is not made known in either of them, their contents correspond in substance with that which the above-mentioned Don Domingo José Vazqués informed me had been written by Lieut. Don Juan Hervé, the senior navigating officer of the *San Lorenzo*.

Lima, 7 December, 1815,

Baleato."

The other copy at the Academy of History was made at San Fernando on October 21st, 1824, by Raphael Maestre, and is bound up in the same volume.]

INSCRIBED TABLETS FROM EASTER ISLAND,

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

ANOTHER NARRATIVE OF JACOB ROGGEVEEN'S VISIT.

Translated by the Editor from the German of CARL FRIEDERICH BEHRENS: *Der wohlversüchte Süd-Länder, das ist: ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung um die Welt.*

"FROM here[1] we set our course for David's Land, or a part of the South Land, W.N.W. This land seems to have been discovered in 1680 by Captain Davids, when in command of an English buccaneering ship[2], as related by Mr Dampier and one Waffer[3] in their narrative. Ten miles westward of Joan Ferdinando we saw the island Little Ferdinando. It was likewise uninhabited; but appeared to be less fertile than the other, and withal much smaller. There seem, however, to be a great quantity of wild goats [*stein-böcke*] on it, and I should say they must be more easy to shoot here than upon the other island, as it is not so mountainous. I did not examine whether there is any good harbour here in which one may anchor.

We made good way day by day, as the S.E. trade-wind was very favourable to us, and attended us throughout most parts of the South Sea. At last we attained the latitude of 28°, and longitude 251°, in which position we expected to fall in with the land. We saw numerous land birds, among which were many tropic-birds [*pfeil-sterten*][4]. And they also thought that we had

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[1] i.e. the larger or landward island of Juan Fernandez.

[2] The *Batchelor's Delight*, 1687.

[3] Lionel Wafer.

[4] *Phaeton aethereus.*

really seen land. Moreover the wind began to falter [*vagiren*] and shifted round towards the W., which, on coasts where the trade-wind prevails, is always a sign that one is not far from land. Still, to the great surprise of our Admiral, we saw no David's Land, so far; and it is my belief that either we overran it, or that there is no such land there. This at any rate is certain, that all the coast lines of the South Lands stretch for the most part East and West, or East, N. and West-South (*sic*); which may be a principal reason why this South Land has remained undiscovered by many [navigators] hitherto. One approaches the land on a W.N.W. course, and with a N.W. one leaves it behind altogether, which I ascertained by comparing the [positions of] all the Southern Lands already discovered and constructing a chart whereon it is clearly shown that navigators have passed in the near neighbourhood of land or, with a N.W. course have sailed right away from it.

We continued on another 12° to the westward of the longitude above mentioned, and had land birds and sea-fowl about us every day, who kept company with us until we at last sighted an island, on the 6th of April, being our first Easter Day[1], at which we were heartily pleased. And because it was on the day of the glorious resurrection of Our Lord that it appeared to us we at once named it Pasch Land, or 'Easter Land.' [It was] about eight miles in circumference[2]. Our African galley had got close in with the land and reported that the place appeared to be very fertile; moreover, that it must be inhabited, as smoke had been noticed rising in several places. Next day we stood in with our ships to look for a harbour, whereupon one of the natives came off in a small skiff [*schiffgen*] to meet us some two miles off the land. We took him aboard our vessel and gave him a piece of linen cloth to about his body, for he was quite naked; and we offered him beads and other trinkets, all of which he hung round his neck together with a dried fish. He was very cleverly and regularly painted with all sorts of figures: he was of a brown tint, and had long ears which hung down as far as his shoulders as if they had been stretched to that length by being weighted, after the fashion of the Mongolian Moors. He was fairly tall in stature, strong in limb, of good appearance, and lively in mien, as well as pleasing in

[1] They had sailed from Holland on Aug. 1st of the foregoing year, 1721.

[2] German statute miles must here be meant.

speech and gesture. We gave this South Lander or foreign visitor a glass of wine to drink; but he only took it and tossed it into his eyes, whereat we were surprised. I fancy he thought that we designed to poison him by its means, which is a common usage among Indians. Thereupon we dressed our new guest in garments and put him on a hat, but he was evidently very ill at ease in clothing. We also regaled him with food; but he was quite ignorant of the use of a spoon, knife, or fork. After he had taken his meal our musicians treated him to a specimen of each one of their instruments; and whenever any person took him by the hand he began at once to caper and dance about. We were much pleased to see his enjoyment; but we did not come to an anchor that day, and therefore let him go back to the shore with the aforesaid presents to acquaint his friends in what manner he had been entertained. But he parted from us unwillingly: and held up his hands, cast his glances towards the land, and began to cry out loudly in these words, *O dorroga! O dorroga!* He was not at all disposed to return to his skiff, but preferred to remain with us that we might convey him ashore in our ship. I make no doubt that, by means of the aforementioned exclamation he was appealing to his god, as we could see great numbers of heathen idols erected on shore.

We remained close under the land all night until towards morning, when we stood in in a S.E. direction towards a bay or indentation in the coast to anchor. The natives swam off in the water in thousands; some with small dinghies or skiffs brought us uncooked and baked hens, together with many roots; while on the beach they were running up and down like deer. Some were seated in groups of fifty[1] or a hundred, and looked upon our ship with wonderment: some out of mere curiosity, but others were desirous of finding out what design had brought us there. They kindled many fires by their idols, either by way of offerings or for the purposes of prayer. In the early morning we looked out and could see from some distance that they had prostrated themselves towards the rising sun and had kindled some hundreds of fires, which probably betokened a morning oblation to their gods. We thereupon got ready to effect a landing, but just then our former visitor came on board together with many others of his people, bringing

[1] This number is given in figures, but owing to a defect in the type only the o is printed. It means presumably 50.

us a quantity of dressed fowls and roots. One amongst these was an entirely white man, who was wearing white chocks of wood in his ears as large as one's fist, and bore a very devout appearance, so that we took him to be an idol priest. By some misadventure one of the natives who were on board the vessels got shot, and this must have caused a great consternation amongst them, for they all immediately sprang into the water and some swam away towards the shore, but others made off in their skiffs with all possible haste. We then with 150 men, soldiers as well as seamen, proceeded in the name of God ashore: and among them there was present our Admiral himself, by whom I was given command of a section of the party. I was the first who, at the disembarkation, set foot on the island. The inhabitants pressed round us in such crowds that we could scarcely pass along, so that we had to force a way through them; and, because some of them went so far as to lay hold of our arms (weapons), they were fired upon: by which they were direly alarmed, and dispersed, but collected again in swarms, though keeping some ten paces in front of us, believing that they were already out of range of our weapons at that distance.

Many of them were shot at this juncture; and among the slain lay the man who had been with us before, at which we were much grieved. In order to obtain possession of the bodies they congregated in great numbers, bringing with them presents of various kinds of fruits and vegetables, in order that we might the more readily surrender to them their slain. The consternation of these people was by no means abated: even their children's children in that place will in times to come be able to recount the story of it. They kept up an uncommon yelling: women as well as children brought palm branches, red and white streamers, and various kinds of fruits, Indian figs, large nuts, sugar-cane, roots, fowls,—alive, boiled, and roast. They even flung themselves at our feet, displayed the streamers in front of us, and prostrated themselves on their knees before us, presenting their palm branches as peace offerings. They also made tender of their womenkind, asking whether we would accompany them into their huts, or had rather take them off to the ships. However, we did them no ill, but made a present to them of a piece of gaily coloured linen print between fifty and sixty ells in length, which they measured fathomwise more than a hundred times over. We also distributed coral baubles, small mirrors, etc., by which they might be assured that we were their friends. After that they brought us more than

500 live fowls, which were like those of the Vierländen, this time without any boiled or roast ones, together with many roots, some red, some white, a good lot of potatoes which tasted almost like bread, and which are used by these people in the same way; and some hundreds of sugar-canes, great quantities of *pisang*[1], being Indian figs as large as a cucumber a span in length and of proportionate thickness, with a green rind. When one peels this off [the pulp] tastes like figs, or as sweet as honey: there are sometimes as many as a hundred on a single bunch. The leaf is from two to three feet broad and from six to eight feet in length. It is with these that our first parents should have covered themselves in Paradise after their unfortunate Fall, because it is almost the largest and strongest leaf which one meets with in Morning and Evening lands.

No animals were met with, as far as we penetrated on this occasion, except sundry species of birds; but there may be many other animals farther in the interior of the country, as the natives seemed acquainted with pigs when they saw some on board our ships.

The natives prepare their meals in pots made of clay or earth. Each household appeared to us to have its own.

The houses were from forty to sixty feet [*schuh*] long, six to eight feet [*schuh*] in width, and of similar height, set up on wooden stakes, daubed over with luting and covered in with palm leaves. As regards their subsistence it appears that it must be procured by tillage of the soil, as we saw it everywhere planted and bearing crops. Moreover the fields or lands were all measured off with a cord, and very neatly cultivated. At the time of our visit all their crops were maturing: the fields and trees were in full bearing, and I feel sure that if we had explored this country right through many good things would have been met with, since we were there in just the best season of the year.

No remarkable furniture was found inside their houses, except some red and white coverlets [*decken*] which they often use as apparel, and also for sleeping under. These coverlets felt like silk, to the touch, so that one could almost conclude they had looms by means of which they made them themselves.

These natives were universally blithe and merry, well-built, strong in limb, not exactly slender, yet nimble on their feet; friendly and pleasant in manner, but submissive withal, and also very timid. Most of them, when bringing any object such as

[1] *Pisang* is the Malayan generic term for the banana.

fowls, or other produce, would cast it all down before us and retire with all possible speed, and go their way without ceremony.

As for their complexion they are brownish, about the hue of a Spaniard, yet one finds some among them of a darker shade and others quite white, and no less also a few of a reddish tint as if somewhat severely tanned by the sun. Their ears were so long that they hung down as far as to the shoulders. Some wore white ornaments in the lobes as a special embellishment. They were painted on their bodies with wonderful birds and animals, although some were handsomer than others.

The women had their features streaked for the most part with a red pigment, which is of a much brighter shade than any we have anywhere else seen or found; but we do not know from what they make this beautiful colour. The women were all clothed with red and white wraps [*decken*]; and each had a small hat made of straw or rushes. They sat down before us and disrobed, laughed, and were very friendly. Others called from a distance from their houses and beckoned us with the hand to come to them; and there was, in the place where we were standing, a village of about twenty houses.

The people had, to judge by appearances, no weapons; although, as I remarked, they relied in case of need on their gods or idols which stand erected all along the sea shore in great numbers, before which they fall down and invoke them. These idols were all hewn out of stone, and in the form of a man, with long ears, adorned on the head with a crown, yet all made with skill: whereat we wondered not a little. A clear space was reserved round these objects of worship by laying stones to a distance of twenty or thirty paces. I took some of the people to be priests, because they paid more reverence to the gods than did the rest; and showed themselves much more devout in their ministrations. One could also distinguish these from the other people quite well, not only by their wearing great white plugs in their ear lobes, but in having the head wholly shaven and hairless. One of them was with us on board the ship as above related. They wore a head-dress of white and black feathers which were just like storks' feathers: so that we thought it likely that some of the storks in migrating from Europe at their accustomed season must rest here[1]. .....As the evening was drawing near we re-

[1] Here intervenes a long, speculative, and uninstructive dissertation on the migration of storks, quite irrelevant to the narrative.

turned all together on board our ships, intending to explore the country better on the next or third day. It was not possible to determine whether these people have a king, as there are no great distinctions between them; save that the eldest among them wore white feathers on their heads, like ostrich feathers in appearance, and carried a staff in their hands. But one could perceive that each household was independent, wherein the most elderly of its men took the lead.

This island is a suitable and convenient place at which to obtain refreshment, as all the country is under cultivation and we saw in the distance whole tracts of woodland [*ganze Wälder*]. It should be possible to grow corn all over it, and even to plant vineyards, which might be very serviceable in the event of a new discovery of the South Land. We got a gale from the West here, so that we lost two anchors and were forced to put to sea: and it might easily have happened that we had all been stranded with the three ships, and so have sojourned with the natives of the island. I have often felt thankful that if such had really come to pass the people of this island appeared of such a disposition as to be easily brought to the Christian Faith.

We cruised for some days yet round about here, and made courses on every point of the compass; but there was no David's land to be seen. We therefore headed away towards Schouten's foul water [*schlecht wasser*] to the Westward in the intent to discover some land.

APPENDIX II.

NOTE ON DON MANUEL DE AMAT'S SUCCESSOR.

The following passage[1] from the pen of El Caballero Don Teodoro de Croix, who was Viceroy of Peru from 1784 to 1790, reviewing the events which happened during his administration, serves to display the fixity of the principle of national monopoly by which the policy of the Spanish Government was pervaded. It is difficult not to perceive a *soupçon* of persiflage in Don Teodoro's preamble, but his platitudes are quite as characteristic of the unctuous and bombastic style in vogue among the high officials of his day as of the Viceroy's own personality[2].

It runs thus:—

"The Sovereign, who watches over the security of these dominions and the well-being of their native population, encouraging commerce in these seas and protecting its interests against an enemy's aggression, by the disbursement of large sums from the Royal Treasury in all times of peace and war, as the most essential means of guarding against every kind of injury, has made provision for preventing the establishment of any foreign colony in this South Sea or among any of the many islands it contains, and which belong to it of right.

"With this object, ever since the glorious conquest of this Kingdom, he has defrayed the expenses of expeditions for the discovery of its islands; various leaders have taken possession of

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[1] Fuentes, M. A.; Bibliog. no. 22.

[2] Don Teodoro de Croix was born at Lille in Flanders, and was at one time a lieutenant in the Flemish company of the Royal Body Guard. His career after that is unrecorded until his arrival in New Spain, where he became a Major General in command of the inland Provinces and of La Sonora, at the time the Viceroy of Mexico was Don Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix (1766).

In Peru Don Teodoro acceded to the Viceroyship in succession to L^{t}. Gen^{l}. Don Agustin de Jáuregui, arriving at Callao on April the 4th, 1784. It was under his authority that, in 1784, an expedition was fitted out by Don Juan Miguel de Castañeda to explore the island of San Felix (in lat. 26° 18′ S., 500 miles off the Chilian coast) and to determine whether it were suited for the establishment of an outpost. This service was performed by the *San Pablo*, sloop: with, of course, negative results—under the command of Don Antonio Casulo [Mendiburu, M. Bibliog. no. 35].

them in his Royal name, and have left erected as a witness and monument of his sway, the Holy standard of the Cross; since the principal object of his acquisitions in those remote and barbaric regions has been alone the promulgation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among them, and the expansion of our holy Catholic Religion.

"The several treaties made with European Powers, and chiefly with the Court of London, should relieve our august Monarch of some anxieties in these regions; but, nevertheless, inasmuch as pretexts are never lacking for breaches of faith in regard to Treaties, and the minds of men are ever ready to take exception to the most incontestable rights, His Majesty has not ceased to issue directions for repressing every malfeasance which might tend to disparage his legitimate sovereignty in these seas. Whenever there has been the smallest sign from which it might appear that the establishment of any foreign settlement among the islands was in contemplation, expeditions have been despatched anew—in cases where there existed a certainty of such designs, to thwart them; or, where such certainty was not clear, to reassert his right of possession over his own dominions."

Don Teodoro next proceeds to give an outline of the expeditions of the *San Lorenzo* and the *Santa Rosalia* to Easter Island, which are more fully related in the present volume; and concludes by explaining why the further ventures commanded by the King had not been undertaken during his own tenure of the Viceregal office.

APPENDIX III.

EXTRACT

From an unsigned copy of a Letter, dated from Lima, 13th of April, 1771. The copy has no address or superscription. Translated by the Editor, from the copy in the Egerton collection[1].

We have reverted to the spirit of discovery and conquest of the xvith century. The ship of war *S^n Lorenzo*, and the frigate *S^ta Rosalia*, which sailed from Callao on the 10th of October of the past year to carry out a commission in search of some islands situated in these seas at a distance of 500 and 600 leagues from the coast of Chile, whereat any foreign settlement might exist, succeeded in meeting with the much vaunted Island of *David*, in the latitude of 27° inhabited by people almost white, of simple habits and very sturdy, as is seen in the accompanying journal which I enclose[2].

Although in the Supplement to the *Historia Genl. de los Viages*, the account given by the Dutchman Roggeveen of this island, its capacity, its people, and the difficulty of landing on it by reason of the lack of a harbour, finds a place, it has always lain hidden and as if imaginary, to our own countryman.

We have set aside all doubt as to there being another island within 80 leagues to the westward of this one, over which distance our explorers sailed. After that, they made a Southerly course towards Chiloe, whence they returned without pushing on to investigate the other island called *La Madre de Dios*, which is situated near the entrance to the Strait of Magallanes, for the reasons set forth in the log. Having reached the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, they shaped a course from thence as far as the 38th degree of latitude, and on attaining the parallel of *David's* Island (now named after *S^n Carlos*), they sailed West more than one hundred leagues without sighting any other island or land whatever, until, returning eastwards, they fell in for a second time with the one they had already taken possession of. From thence they found it necessary to again edge away towards the island of

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[1] Brit. Mus., Spanish MSS. Eg. 902, n° 15, fol 127.

[2] There is no enclosure with this MS.

Juan Fernandez; having sighted which, they made for Callao, where they arrived on the 27th of last March, having spent 5 months and seventeen days on the commission.

It is now contemplated to send some people to the said Isle of *S*^{a} *Carlos* together with Missionaries to announce the Gospel to its poor inhabitants. We suspect that the English Admiral Viron[1] was there during his first voyage, and that he has concealed its position in the history of his voyage; but he expressed the wish that his countrymen might colonise the island which he discovered in the South (and this may be one of those), for the purpose of settling people who would be able to render assistance to shipping, and for the development of his ideas of aggrandisement in these seas.

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[1] Byron.

APPENDIX IV.

EXTRACT

From an autograph Journal kept by Lieut. GEORGE PEARD, of H.M.S. *Blossom*, under the command of Capt. F. W. Beechey, R.N., F.R.S., &c. in the year 1825[1].

(Printed from a *literatim* copy of the original in the British Museum: Addl. MSS. 35141.)

16*th November*. In the afternoon of the 16th we saw Easter Island bearing S. 78° W., and the next morning got close in and stood round to Cook's bay which is on the west side and said to be the only anchoring ground off the island. But the report of the Master who was sent in the cutter to sound was so unfavourable, from the foulness of the ground, that we kept under weigh. We took notice of several old Craters, and the general appearance of the island shewed that it was entirely volcanic. The huts of the Natives are like inverted canoes and some of them appeared to be at least one hundred yards in length. The land looks dried up and barren, except here and there where we observed clumps of Banana trees and marks of Cultivation. At two o'clock p.m. the Cutter and Gig were sent to effect a landing and come to a friendly understanding with the Inhabitants. The following is the account of the boats' proceedings given in to Capt[n]. Beechey by the officer Comm[g][1]:—

"On approaching the shore I followed your directions & hoisted the white flag, when we observed the natives collecting in great numbers and some hundreds of them throw themselves off the rocks and swim towards the Boats. They came fearlessly alongside and held up bananas, yams, sugar cane, celery, and small baskets of potatoes, but were not disposed to barter them for nails or arrow-heads. One of them on being presented with a nail threw it away with contempt, and made signs by thrusting his bent finger into his mouth that he wanted a fish-hook. Our clothes

[1] A more detailed account of the *Blossom's* visit to Easter Island is given by Capt. Beechey in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions:* London, 1831.

[2] From Capt. Beechey's *Narrative* [Bibliog. no. 56] we learn that Lieut. Peard himself was the officer commanding.

seemed to be valued by them more than any thing else, & I believe that any sort of linen or woolen stuff, or even old rags, would be held in high estimation. They would willingly have entered the boats, but regard for our own safety obliged us to keep them off.

"We had some difficulty in preventing them with our stretchers from laying hold of the gunwhales of the boats. I obs^{d} several strips of white rag hoisted on shore, & at length, finding the surf was running very high on the sandy beach, selected for landing a spot amongst the rocks to the right. I suppose there must have been near a thousand persons collected; & they seemed perfectly to understand our signs for them to retire, as some of them tried to drive the rest back by pushing & splashing them with water.

"They all appeared to be most amicably disposed, and, as the rocks were slippery, assisted us in landing with the most perfect good humour, beckoning to our party to advance. In order to gain his good will I made a present to one who had short brown feathers round his head, and appeared to be a Chief.

"We disembarked in all Six officers, 4 Marines, & 2 Seamen, leaving the rem^{r} in the boats to protect and keep clear. We found no small difficulty in preventing their pressing on us, and no sooner had our party reached the top of the rocks, than they commenced their depredations & in a few minutes had made off with several caps & hats. At this time, the natives becoming even more clamorous than before, and our suspicions being awakened by the sudden appearance of several wooden clubs, we judged it advisable to retreat towards the boats. This seemed to be the signal for attack, as we were immediately assailed with vollies of stones, which, being well aimed and becoming thicker, I ordered a musket to be fired over their heads; this had the effect of driving them back & giving our people time to get down to the boats but now the stones, some of them 2 lbs. in weight, showered down so fast on all sides, and wounded so many of our men, that our safety required a constant fire to be kept up until out of their reach. I am happy to express my belief that none of the Natives were hurt except the Chief aforesaid, who I fear was shot. I have omitted to mention that there are 2 rocks about half a cables length from the shore, one of which was covered as thick as possible with females who, has we passed them in going on shore, commenced a loud & rather discordant song, I suppose by way of welcome, and that on our landing one of the

Natives brought a fine young woman & offered her to us. The Natives are rather above the Middle size, of a Copper Colour, well proportioned with regular white teeth, black bushy hair, and generally speaking good looking. Some of them had a ragged sort of cloak of a Cotton like substance over the shoulders, but by far the greater N° both Males & Females were entirely naked, excepting a narrow strip of cloth or twisted celery leaves in lieu of the Figleaf. Many of the males had a few hairs on the chin, & some were tattooed and besmeared with yellow Ochre and black paint over the face & lips & other parts of the body. The females, especially the younger ones, had good figures & were far from ill looking; & all of them without exception tattooed in front from the hips down to the knees, of a dark bluish colour. They are as much at home in the water as the men & venture alongside the boats with as little fear. I did not observe any canoes. There is no doubt of their being determined thieves; but it appears to me that our affray with them arose principally from some mistake originating in our ignorance of their language, & not from premeditated treachery on their side.

"[1] It is most probable that these people, seeing our men retreat without making them the presents they expected, and knowing from the nature of the ground where we landed that they could pelt us from behind the rocks almost with impunity, thought this an opportunity not to be lost; and I would advise any who may wish to land here in future to choose some open spot, where the Natives can have no place of concealment, & know they are within reach of our fire arms. I feel convinced that by attending to this, making a ring, and placing sentries to prevent their breaking it, we should have no occasion to fire a shot and everything could be conducted in a most amicable manner.

"As to their propensity for stealing, I consider that every one ought to provide against that as much as possible by not affording them opportunities to exercise their dexterity; and surely any attempts of the kind might be punished as effectually with the scabbard or flat of the cutlass, as with a pistol or musket ball. Whilst the boats were away those on board saw three or four Canoes laying hauled up on shore at some distance to the left of the landing place."

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[1] It is impossible to be sure, from the manner in which the MS. is written, whether this concluding paragraph belongs to the narrative of the landing party, or expresses Lieut. Peard's private comments.

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1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., S. Swithin's, 169, Trinity Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.
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1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France (M. le Professeur Dreyfus, Chief Librarian).
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1847 Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, 184, Paris (M. le Baron Hulot, Secrétaire Général).
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